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A
COLLECTION
OF
Original LETTERS and PAPERS,
Concerning the
AFFAIRS of *ENGLAND*,
From the Year 1641 to 1660.

Found among the Duke of ORMONDE's Papers.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

By *THO. CARTE*, M. A.



L O N D O N :

Printed by *James Bettenham* at the Expence of the SOCIETY for
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vol 2

P R E F A C E.

L E T T E R S wrote in the scene and at the time of actions and negotiations, especially when wrote by persons present at those actions, and employed in those negotiations, are with reason deemed the most proper means of obtaining, and conveying down to posterity, just and authentick accounts of the transactions to which they relate. These accounts are generally more enlivening than narrations purely historical on the same subject, representing things (which Poets choose to do to render them more agreeable as well as moving) in the very action, bringing us as it were either back to those times, or exposing them so naturally to our view, that we are in a manner present at them; so that they are often as entertaining as any poetical descriptions; and whilst they afford us the same pleasure which the fiction of a warm and fine imagination in a Poet is able to create, they do it with this advantage, that they have truth

on their side. They cannot therefore well fail of pleasing in all cases, but must be more so in matters of importance and in the relation of considerable events, wherein an infinite number of things occur worthy of the observation, and useful for the instruction, of posterity.

There are abundance of passages, incidents, and circumstances of transactions, that are curious in themselves, and would be entertaining in the relation, which generally pass off unheeded, whilst every body is taken up with reflecting on the main event; and are therefore generally (perhaps as not having an immediate influence thereon, or else as being utterly unknown to them) not taken notice of by Historians, and so would be lost in eternal oblivion, were they not preserved in such Letters, and retrieved by the publication thereof to the world. This is never more remarkably the case than in the times of troubles, and of great revolutions in States and Kingdoms, which are always attended with a wonderful variety of events. They are of all others the worst times certainly to live in; it being impossible for the best and wisest men to conduct themselves so, as to pass through the various turns and vicissitude of affairs in such times without considerable losses in their private fortunes,

P R E F A C E.

tunes, and bearing a share in the calamities of the publick : but no times afford more amusement and entertainment to a reader ; especially when numbers of persons are affected thereby and interested therein ; many of which feel a delight, and all of them gratify a curiosity, in reviewing the conduct of their ancestors, and learning particulars of the sufferings of their families.

There is still another, and that a very material circumstance, which makes Letters wrote in an age of troubles and confusion the more valuable, and the printing of them more desirable. It is a natural incident to such an age, that Memoirs of Treaties, Negotiations, and Transactions, Publick Instruments, and other Papers, which in times of peace and order use regularly to be brought into publick offices and the proper repositories of Papers, are not there lodged in times of confusion ; a defect which cannot be better supplied than by such Letters. This was in fact the case of the times that passed between the years 1641 and 1660, there being to be found in our archives but very little of the publick transactions within this kingdom, from the breaking out of the Civil War to the death of King *Charles* the First, and nothing at all of the state of the King's affairs

affairs and negotiations abroad from that time to King *Charles* the Second's Restoration.

For these reasons I conceived it would be both agreeable to the reader, and useful to the world, to publish this Collection of Letters, wrote during that interval, and relating to the affairs of *England*. It consists of original Letters and Relations, which I found among the first Duke of *Ormonde's* papers: only the Letters of *Venables* and *Thurlce* are taken from their originals now in my hands, and those of *R. Cromwell* from the copies thereof, sent at the time of their respective dates to Admiral *Montagu*, afterwards Earl of *Sandwich*, and were by me rescued from the flames to which they were destined, and which, I fear, consumed the rest of that Nobleman's papers. There are in it no Relations that I had reason to think were ever printed before; and no Letters but what I thought curious and important, or were wrote by persons in the greatest employments. The first volume goes to the year 1652, and the occurrences and transactions in *England* alone make the subject thereof till *A. D.* 1648: but after that year those of *Scotland*, and the condition of his Majesty's affairs and negotiations abroad, are related in the Letters of the King, Secretary *Long*, Lord *Byron*,

Byron, Lord *Fermyn*, and Secretary *Nicholas*; who receiving from the most considerable persons in *England* constant accounts of affairs within this nation, transmitted them regularly, with all foreign advices, to the Duke of *Ormonde* during the time he was employed in the government of *Ireland*. Such also of his Grace's Letters as were wrote, either from that kingdom, upon his advice being asked with regard to their own conduct or affairs abroad by the King, Lord *Digby*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, or in 1651 whilst he was in *France*, are inserted in the same volume, and will give delight to every reader.

Those Letters indeed of the Duke of *Ormonde*, which were wrote between *Jan.* 1648 and *Decemb.* 1650, when he left *Ireland*, and related purely to Irish affairs within those periods of time, I omitted in the first volume; as thinking them more proper to appear with other Letters (which I have by me copied ready for the press) written upon the same subject, and during the same interval. But by a mistake in the calculation of the Letters that were to compose the second volume, and by my not being sensible there were some sheets wanting to make it of the same size as the first, till it was too late to remedy the
error

error in any other manner, I have now added them at the end of the second volume, which contains the Letters relating to the King's affairs and negotiations from the year 1652 (when the Lord Chancellor *Hyde* and the Duke of *Ormonde* had the chief management thereof) to the time of his Restoration. They are now published for the use of the world, and, without any reflections or observations of my own, submitted to the reader's judgment.

Novemb. 1st,
1738.

Tho. Carte.

ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL
LETTERS and PAPERS
Relating to the
ENGLISH-AFFAIRS
From the Year 1641 to 1660.

Sir Patrick Wemyss to the Earl of Ormonde.

My Lord and Patron,

THE 18th of this month I came to *Edin-* *A.D. 1641*
burgh, where the King is still; Sir *Henry*
Vane is gone to some house of his own
in *Northumberland*, and is expected this
night at Court. I delayed delivering your Lordship's
letter to his Majesty till his return, fearing both to
transgress your commands, and that he might take it
ill, if I should make my address to his Majesty by
any other, your Lordship having written to him
that he should be the man. I will stay for him so
long as I can, and at last, if he come not, I will,
to the best of my understanding, order the busi-
ness that I may be brought to the King by no sus-
pected man. For believe it, my Lord, it will
take some time to learn who are the men are most
pleasing to his Majesty.

My Lord, give me leave to write my own sense
to your Lordship concerning yourself. I am con-
fident for all that I can hear or learn, it had been

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the

A.D. 1641 the happiest journey that ever your Lordship made, if you had come here at this time. I believe whatsoever your Lordship would have demanded, might have been granted; for in an age your Lordship could never have lighted upon such a time as this, and I am certain your coming to his Majesty at this time would have been most acceptable. For there is never a Nobleman with him of the *English* or *Irish*, but *Dillon*, who is a great courtier, if he could make use of it. The King has commanded him to stay so long as he stays, and has given him a letter to be one of the Privy-Council of *Ireland*. I shall be able to discover more, after I have delivered his Majesty's letter, which had been done before this, if my just fear had not prevented me: but I hope it shall be in good time: and seeing I can write nothing to your Lordship till that be done, I will give your Lordship a relation of what I have observed and heard since my coming hither of the progress of affairs here.

Before the King's coming hither, the King appointed my Lord *Wemyss* to be his Commissioner for the Church business, who has settled all things to the King's content, as he expressed in open Parliament; and all the canons are ratified by Act of Parliament. They have got a triennial Parliament granted them. The King has been earnest to have the nomination of the Officers of State and Counsellors; but *Argyle* and his faction gave that opposition, that they have been this month about it; and at last it was agreed *Saturday* last, that the King should make choice of them with consent and approbation of the Parliament. The King delivered a list of his Counsellors. They refused it, but would have his Majesty make choice of his Officers of State first. At last they brought his Majesty to give in a list of them: wherein he named
my

my Lord of *Morton* Chancellor, and *London* Treasurer. *Argyle* opposed most bitterly, that it came to most bitter words in the Parliament house, the King being present, betwixt *Morton* and *Argyle*. This took them up a whole week: but in the end, *Morton* yesterday in the Parliament house besought his Majesty that he might be put out of the list, and thanked his Majesty for the great care he had of him; and so humbly begged a kiss of his Majesty's hand in the open Assembly, and desired that he might retire to a country life: which the King granted to him with many affectionate words.

This business might have put them all together by the ears: and immediately after, the Barons made it their supplication to his Majesty, that no Nobleman or any other that left the country and did adhere to his Majesty, should bear any office whatsoever amongst them. This troubled all those Noblemen that had, and especially *Roxburgh*; but he was so taken up by *Argyle*, when he began to justify himself, alledging his loyalty to the King and Country, that *Argyle* told him comparisons were odious, that with much ado they were pacified.

Their next desire to the King was, that eight of the chief Gentry might be of the Council, which his Majesty yielded unto. They are this day about the nomination of the Lord Chancellor; but what time that will take up God knows. But first it was moved amongst them, that every man should give his voice, after the question was stated, in a piece of paper, and put them like *Valentines* in the Clerk's hat; and so to be numbered. This his Majesty yielded to in the forenoon; but in the afternoon came to the House and told them, he had forgot himself, and intreated them to let that alone. But their hearts are hardened, and till that be granted, they will hearken to no other business. And here stand the affairs here for the present.

A.D. 1641 For there is neither Statesman, Counsellor nor Judge appointed as yet; only *Loudon* is sure to be Treasurer. Neither is there any of their incendiaries brought to their trial. This will take up a long time, so that the King's return is uncertain: and I have spoke with some of the leading men, who tell us there is a necessity of the King's stay till all that business be settled; and in plain terms say, he must not go till then.

What will be the event of these things God knows; for there was never King so much insulted over. It would pity any man's heart to see how he looks; for he is never at quiet amongst them, and glad he is, when he sees any man that he thinks loves him; yet he is seeming merry at meat. *Henderson* is greater with him, than ever *Canterbury* was: he is never from him night nor day. It had gone hard with the Marquess, if he had not fallen in with *Argyle*, who will bring him off. For believe it, the People here are much incensed against him: but *Argyle* and he are sworn to one another; and so think to carry all business.

And thus, my Lord, I have troubled your Lordship with these particulars to your Lordship, having no other subject to write, till I have delivered your Lordship's letter to his Majesty, and then I hope to let your Lordship hear that which more concerns yourself. My Lord, if you intend to see the King the next spring; if your affairs could suffer you, now were a good time, in hope you might overtake him here, and dispatch what you have to do and so return home. For you shall never have such a time to do business, as your Lordship might have here. This is my humble opinion. Your Lordship knows best what you have to do. If your Lordship will dispatch any business to me, send it presently by this bearer: and I believe, I shall be more able to give you a speedier

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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speedier account here, than when I come to *London*. So that if your Lordship have any commands to lay upon me, let me know presently by this bearer, and I will do the best I can to do your Lordship all the faithful service lies in me with a most willing heart.

A.D. 1641

My Lord, all the news I wrote to your Lordship from *Dublin* were false ; that is, no Nobleman made at all. It is thought that if things go well, *Lesley* will be made an Earl, and during his own life, to have precedence of all the Nobility, for as yet he has it. The King is to pass an Act that none of the incendiaries are to serve in his dominions. His Majesty has engaged his royal promise to *Montross*, not to leave the kingdom till he come to his trial ; for if he leave him all the world will not save his life.

And so, my Lord, desiring to hear from your Lordship by this Bearer, whether I shall go to *England* when the King goes ; what your Lordship will have me to do, I will obey.

Edinb. Sept. 25.
1641.

Your Lordship's

indeared faithful Servant,

P. WEMYSS.

Sir Patrick Wemyss to the Earl of Ormonde.

My Lord and Patron,

AS yet Sir *Henry Vane* is not come to Court ; but ten days ago I sent your Lordship's letter to him, by the advice of his chief Secretary, who stays here to attend the King, and did write to him, that your Lordship's commands to me were that I should make my address to his Majesty

A.D. 1641 by him, and that I feared some prejudice in being so long in delivering your Lordship's letter to his Majesty; and that he would be pleased, if he did not return himself, to write either to his servant or to me what I should do.

This, my Lord, I did with advice of some who love and honour your Lordship, and know the wages very well here: and besides his servant did earnestly advise me not to deliver your Lordship's letter to his Majesty, till I did hear from Sir *Henry Vane*, who (he said) would take it very ill. And this night I am faithfully promised he shall be here, or at least his directions what I shall do.

My Lord, there are many here that wish your Lordship might have come hither and attended his Majesty: and surely, my Lord, it had been the best journey that ever you made, in the opinion of most men that know your Lordship's deserving. But if your Lordship could think upon any such resolution, I believe you might come here before the King leave this place; for there is not so much as any speech of his return: For it is not probable that he can in any short time return, except he would leave the affairs here worse than he found them.

Since my last letter to your Lordship there is nothing done, but only upon *Friday* last, my Lord *Loudon* was chosen Chancellor in great state, being nominated by the King and approved of by the Parliament. They have been ever since about a Treasurer. The King nominated my Lord of *Almond*, but the Barons will have none of him. This day they are to give his Majesty their absolute answer; but it is generally thought that my Lord *Almond* shall be refused.

Some seven days ago, there was a business fell out that might have gone very near to have set the whole kingdom by the ears; and the matter was

was this. The Lord *Ker*, the Earl of *Roxburgh's* son, a mad-headed young Lord, vented some speeches against the Marquess *Hamilton* at a publick meeting, which were high; and being taxed for it by some that were in the company, he spoke it openly, and in a fury sent a challenge to the Marquess by the Earl of *Crawford*. The effect of the challenge was, that the Marquess was a Traitor to God, to his King and Country; and that he would make it good against him with his life. The Marquess acquainted the King with the challenge. *Ker* was sent for; and there told the King he would make it good. Yet notwithstanding his Majesty dealt so with *Roxburgh* his father, that the Lord *Ker* was forced with much ado to acknowledge to the King and some other Lords, that those words which he spoke of the Marquess were without any ground, and merely from passion. This would not content the Marquess; but the Lord *Ker* the next day was sent for four several times by the King and Parliament; but would not come, till his father with tears in his eyes prevailed with him. But he came into the streets with such a number of officers and soldiers, above six hundred, with their swords in their hands, that they frightened the Parliament; and presently the Town was commanded to go to arms. For my Lord *Ker* and his friends thought that they would have committed him to the castle, and they resolved to die every man before he should go. The King at arms came from the Parliament-house, and commanded every man by proclamation to leave the place upon pain of death. The Lord *Ker* was forced at last with a paper in his hand, with words in it to that purpose as he had declared to the King before; and so upon his knees begged the King and Parliament pardon. This business, if it had not been taken up, would have proved most

A.D. 1641 dangerous to this kingdom : (and I believe it lies but under the embers) for it has made many factions.

The Marquess and *Argyle* go one way pretending all for the Country : and the Duke and his faction go another way. The Marquess will rule all, and makes the King do what he pleases ; which the Country here begins not to relish : and so far as I can learn the Court must not contain both the Duke and Marquess ; for they begin to bandy extremely. The Duke asked me very kindly for your Lordship, and I took the boldness as to present your Lordship's most humble service to his Grace. Your Lordship is much beholden to Mr. *Porter* and Mr. *Murray*. They are earnest at me to know if your Lordship have any business there, wherein they can do your Lordship service.

My Lord, if your Lordship were here, I believe you would find many friends. There is not an *English* Nobleman here, but my Lord *Willoughby*. I would to God I had been in debt of 500 *l.* that your Lordship had been here a month ago ; for I believe whatsoever you would have demanded of the King, you might have had it. Besides your Lordship could never have had a better time to have indeared your Lordship to his Majesty ; for when he is so loth to part from my Lord *Dillon*, he would have been lother to part with your Lordship. My Lord, if your Lordship have any business to send to me, I pray your Lordship to send it to me out of hand, and your instructions how I shall follow it : and I do not think but before the King leave this kingdom, to give your Lordship a very good account of it. He will not leave this place in haste, and besides, there is a whispering, that the Queen is to be sent for, and that she is willing to come without having either Priest or Frier with her. The King has exprest himself that he will either the next spring
or

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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or the summer after come into *Ireland*, and has *A.D. 1641*
commanded *Dillon* to speak it as from his Majesty. }
So expecting to hear from your Lordship very
speedily, I humbly take leave and shall ever re-
main

Your Lordship's

Edin. Oct.
1641.

indeared faithful Servant,

P. WEMYSS.

The plague is very hot in *England*, and in many
places of the country there.

If my Lord *Dillon* had but staid one day longer,
I should have written to your Lordship, what
acceptance your Lordship's letter had with
his Majesty; which I am confident will be
gracious.

Relation of Edgehill Fight.

ON *Saturday* the 22d of this *October*, his Ma- *A.D. 1642*
jesty came with his army to *Edgecote*, and }
quartering his foot and horse in the villages there-
abouts, and towards *Southam*, resolved to rest the
next day (being *Sunday*) to refresh his army, which
received little rest since we came from *Shrewsbury*,
and had not (by reason of ill provision of carriages,
and the uncharitableness of the country through
which we marched) that supply of victuals which
was necessary. But that purpose of rest was laid
aside, as soon as notice was given from Prince *Ru-*
pert, that the enemy was within 6 or 7 miles of
us in a plain convenient for a battle, which was in
a village called *Kineton*. Whereupon his Majesty
gave directions that the whole army should draw
to a place called *Edgehill*, where his Majesty, the
Prince, and the Duke of *York*, were by 8 of the
clock

A.D. 1642 clock in the morning. It was at least two of the clock in the afternoon, before the army came together in the field, where the rebels had kept themselves in order without motion from the morning, and had gotten the advantage of the hill and saluted us with 2 or 3 canon-shot before our ordnance came and were planted. The shot from the canon on either side did not much hurt in the beginning, though where his Majesty and his Children were, many shot fell very near his Royal Person. Our horse then charged the rebels, notwithstanding the disadvantage of ground, so furiously, that we cannot own the honour of a battle, but of an execution: for they had no sooner discharged their carabines and pistols at an unskilful distance, without any mischief to our men, but they immediately betook themselves to flight, and so were exposed to as great a slaughter as the mercy and gentleness of our cavalry would make of them. And this confusion of theirs was no less by the left wing of our horse, which was led by Commissary *Wilmot*, than by the right wing led by Prince *Rupert*. So that in truth their whole horse was without any difficulty destroyed or routed in the very beginning of the battle, save only 3 or 4 troops, which were placed as a reserve in a corner of the field undiscovered, and so uncharged by our horse; whilst our horse with great (if not too much) earnestness pursued those who fled on the other side so far, that they took much of their baggage, the Earl of *Essex's* own coach and horses, my Lord *Roberts's* coach and waggons of great value. The fight was more equally maintained by their, and with more disadvantage to our, foot; for whilst our horse pursued theirs so eagerly that the Commanders could not stop them in the chace, these few troops of their reserve, which had moved disorderly from place to place about the field, many times

times crying out they were for the King, and so ^{A.D. 1642} being not so carefully looked after by us, took advantage of some little disorder of our foot, fell upon them, and charged them, and put many to the sword without giving any quarter, but barbarously hacking and hewing such persons as they found half slain to their hands. It is true some of our foot through want of munition, and being first disordered by their canon and charged by their horse, yielded ground faster than was fit. But it was so stoutly fought by the other part of our foot, that after the taking of 4 pieces of their ordnance, and all their horse (but these 3 or 4 troops) slain or fled, the night parted us. Some regiments of their foot making a stand, and ours keeping their station near the hill, with our ordnance and those 4 pieces taken from them. The truth is, the battle was very bloody; their horse being so chased and destroyed, and many regiments utterly broken; the poor men throwing down their arms, complaining of those that had misled them, and asking pardon, were all received to mercy. Of our horse we lost but 40 persons, of whom (but the Lord *Aubigny* who unfortunately fell in the chace) there was none of name: of our foot the loss was greater in the weight than the number. The Lord General being hurt in the leg, was carried off by his own men, but by mistake into a house in the enemies quarter, and so is become their prisoner. The Lord *Willoughby*, Colonel *Vavasor*, Colonel *Lunsford*, and Sir *Edward Stradling* are prisoners too with them: *Mennes*, *Button*, Sir *Edmund Verney*, and some other officers slain, of the common soldiers not many. The Standard was taken by them, and rescued by Captain *Smith*, whom the King made Knight Banneret. We have very many hurt, of whom the Earl of *Crawford*, the Lord *Barnard Stuart*, Colonel

A.D. 1642 Colonel *Fielding*, Sir *George Stroude* are some, but without danger. On their side there were not fewer upon the place slain than 2000, who of name we know not. The Lord *St. John* was taken, but dyed the first dressing. We have 4 or 500 good horse at least of theirs, took 56 of their carts, 7 or 8 of their ordnance, and so scattered the whole army, that at least 8000 of their men are gone away from them. Of ours there are not 600 wanting, besides hurt men. His Majesty during the battle engaged himself in the place of the greatest danger, encouraging and commending his soldiers, and taking all care to save their lives, who desired quarter and threw down their arms. All that night (being the coldest of the year) his Majesty lay on the hill among the soldiers: and the next morning gave directions for the rallying the foot with all possible speed to charge the enemy; our horse being all in battalia at the bottom of the hill. But the truth is, the night was so very cold, and our soldiers so long fasting, that it was too late that day before our foot came together in so great a number as we expected. In the mean time many of the prisoners having made great lamentation of their condition, complaining how they had been seduced, by being told that his Majesty was not in the field, but was detained by the Cavaliers against his will, and first promised they should never be put to fight; declared that they knew their fellows were abused in the same manner: and that if his Majesty proffered a pardon to them, they were confident they would immediately throw down their arms. His Majesty sent Sir *William Meux* with a proclamation of pardon to all, but such whom he had formerly excepted. The Herald was heard by the common soldiers with great attention; but as soon as the substance of the message was understood, was with great rudeness interrupted

interrupted by some officers and brought to the Earl *A.D. 1642* of *Essex*, who used him with equal roughness, but with equal safety. That night his Majesty having with his horse brought off 3 pieces more of the canon from the rebels, which they would not strive to defend, retired to *Edgecote*, leaving some horse and dragoons to wait on the rebels, who seemed to lie still at their old quarter. But the next day the Earl made all haste with those few soldiers, who were willing to follow him to *Warwick* castle, whither Prince *Rupert*, and the Lord *Grandison* attended him with that diligence, that they took above 30 of his carriages of munition, and returned this night to their quarter near the Court. The Earl left behind him in the village 200 miserable maimed soldiers, without relief of money or surgeons, horribly crying out upon the villany of those men who corrupted them, by promising them, first, that they should not fight, and by assuring them that the King was not in the field. This day his Majesty, having sent a Herald the last night to summon *Banbury*, drew up his army thither; but upon the submission of the town and castle, and laying down their arms, at least 1500, his Majesty hath forborne to make that place such an example of his justice as they might well expect: The soldiers and inhabitants of that place having added to the former affront to his Majesty so much impudency, that since the battle they have surprized many passengers, and soldiers, and others well affected to his Majesty's service, and detained them prisoners with great barbarousness and inhumanity, till they were this afternoon delivered by his Majesty. From thence some part of the army being directed to quarter at the Lord *Say's* house, repaired thither, but were foolishly denied by the persons trusted there, who soon apprehended their folly and submitted, and

A.D. 1642 received a Colonel of the Brigadoes into the house, who according to his Majesty's command, took care to prevent any disorder there by the soldiers, though they found much arms and one of his Majesty's own waggons of munition there.

I have given you this short and true account of these last 4 days, that you may see the great care the army under his Excellency takes of the safety of his Majesty's Person; and what difference there is between his Majesty's gracious comportment towards the place and persons which have disserved him; and theirs who have brought all this misery upon us for conscience sake.

Arthur Trevor, *Esq;* to the Marquess of Ormonde.

May it please your Lordship,

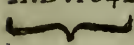
I AM now in *Wales*, although I came not hither without assurance of receiving some commands to kiss your Lordship's hands: but looking upon the news from *Chester*, I am persuaded that councils are altered since my coming away; and that but in compass only and no otherways. Upon *Monday* next I do intend to begin my return, and then by the first good hand your Lordship shall be presented with letters, and (if I do not pass to your Lordship) with a character. In the mean time rest most assured in this, that your memory is venerable to all such as are capable of such a treasure and inlay.

Upon my coming from *Oxon*, I was commanded to my Lord Marquess *Hereford*, and my Lord *Herbert*; between whom I found an old sore but ill drawn up. I ventured upon a small piece of surgery, and do now hope I have taken away the bone that was between them, or at least-

wife so sealed it, that they may march without ^{A.D. 1642} much pain on either side. From thence I came to *Worcester*, which I found under the government of Sir *W. Russel* the High-Sheriff for the County; and therein a good garrison for his Majesty, and well-fortified by the Parliament; who when they were there, were fain to employ their soldiers in throwing up ditches at 12 *d. per diem*, who would else be pulling down the Cathedral for nothing. The organs being two fair pair, all the Bishops beards, noses, fingers and arms, and all, if they had white sleeves, are broken. King *John* and the other Kings that lie interred there have not passed better in this quarrel, than with cracked crowns.

In all the corners of the Church are the droppings of those unclean birds visible, preserved almost without putrefaction to witness the impiety of that party. A grave man, one for his life and learning I may call a father of that Church, shewing me these *purgamenta* with the tears in his eyes, told me that with those eyes he saw divers of them ease themselves in the Font and upon the Communion-Table, calling to them that chearfully looked on, to name the child and sign it with the sign of the Cross. This I am bold to acquaint your Honour withal, to let you see they have raised a spirit that they cannot tell how to lay again; for in all this hurly-burly their General or Officers durst manage no other instrument of correction in their hands, than their hats.

I came from thence to *Shrewsbury*, where they are one and all his Majesty's good subjects. They have raised 2000 dragooners for the service of that country for his Majesty. *North-Wales* and *South-Wales* (except a very few) are his Majesty's. *Cheshire* hath agreed upon a cessation of arms for a month. I confess, my Lord, I do not like this kind

A.D. 1642  kind of measuring out of Treason by the month. *Manchester* is the very *London* of these parts, the liver that sends blood into all the countries thereabouts, and until it be cleansed or obstructed, I cannot imagine that there can be any safety in this neighbourhood.

I met with Mr. *Ayers* going from my Lord of *Newcastle* to his Majesty: and he assured me, that his Lordship was upon his march 12000 strong. It is much hoped, that he will take the part of *Yorkshire* that joins to *Lancashire* and is poisoned by it, in his way to *Manchester*.

Sir *Ralph Hopton* out of the *West*, is marching towards the King with a formidable army: (as Mr. *Pym* in an intercepted letter to Sir *Robert Harley*, which I have seen, calls it) and I believe will very suddenly be up with his Majesty. The Lord *Grandison*, with his regiment going to meet or stay for him, was at *Winchester* by the treachery of that Town in the dead of night betrayed to the enemy. My Lord, and Sir *Richard Willys* a gallant Gentleman are escaped; but of the rest, either horse or man, I can give you no account. I herewith present your Lordship with such a note of the prisoners taken in that surprize, as I could receive.

His Majesty's army with himself, consisting of 9000 foot, 2000 Dragooners, and 4000 horse, is divided into three Terce; one lying at *Reading*, another at *Oxon*, and a third mixed among the horse, some at *Banbury*, *Burford*, *Wallingford*, and *Whatley*, and other places. The enemy hath been drawn out these six weeks; but hath not yet attempted any thing manfully. Some small thieveries they make, and now and then take a straggling trooper, and hang him or send him to *London* in triumph, where the tripewomen stone him by the name of a Cavalier, and say they are taught so to do.

There

There is a petition for an accommodation started up in the City, wherewith the Brownists and Separatists are no less troubled, than with an evil spirit raised amongst them. They have used all endeavours to stifle it; but I hear it gathers strength; and that the City and Suburbs are vertically opposite in it. Besides, the addition of the King's party which is very considerable, and the jealousy they have of their soldiers, adds no small reputation to the design. A.D. 1642

My Lord, I have herein given your Lordship a short view of the condition of this Country, which hath taken such a liberty, by the example of superiors, to put off allegiance and civil duty, that unless there be a very speedy remedy applied, it cannot otherways be expected, but that things will be bad above expression.

The Earl of *Leicester* is sent for to Court, but as yet stays at *Chester*, and hath this day dispatched away his Secretary; but I think he must shortly follow him. His servants are upon parting, and his horses upon sale, and all his equipage in a reduction to the former proportion of his train of attendants.

Since I began this letter I hear that some forces out of *Coventry* and those parts have drawn to *Banbury*, and besieged the Earl of *Northampton* there; and that Prince *Rupert* is gone thither with horse and foot to relieve the place: which I do assure myself he hath done.

The Earl of *Essex* is grown into great jealousies with his great masters; and with him most of the best commanders of that party. His Lady hath once again made him father of a young son, thinking it great pity his honour should die for want of issue male.

I will not say any thing more to your Lordship of my own thoughts of these broken times, until I

A.D. 1642 come to *Oxon*; from whence I will present you with a true state of what I find there, in as close a cover as I can.

Now, my good Lord, give me leave, I beseech you, to give your Lordship my most humble thanks for your manifold favours to my poor brothers in that country, who do most humbly acknowledge your great nobleness to them in this time of general distress. I hope they will never forget to serve your noble family, in all acts of humble and faithful service. I hear my poor brother *Patrick* was by misfortune killed near *Dundalke*, and that he had gotten together some little fortune. I beseech your Lordship to be so much a friend to his poor kindred here, that if any thing can be made of his ragged fortune, that it may be preserved for them. There is no body can pretend to administer by reason of his illegitimation; and if it be worth the asking, I will procure the King's interest therein.

I have not heard any thing from your Lordship, how your Lordship is pleased with the title and the expression of your patent, which Sir *Patrick Wemyss* brought over with him. I do desire to know your pleasure therein, and I will leave nothing undone that I shall receive in command from your Lordship, who shall ever find me most happy, when I am doing your Lordship service as

Your Honour's most humble

Ultimo Decembris,
1642.

and most obliged Servant,

A. TREVOR.

If your Lordship direct my letters to be left with my Lord *Falkland*, or Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, I shall be sure to receive them.

Sir

Sir Robert Poyntz to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord,

I AM sorry that writing news in my last and *A.D. 1643* first, (for I have presumed only once to write) some of those news proved not so true, as they were confidently reported. I spare now to write any, for the bearer Sir R. H. will fully relate them: only give me leave to acquaint your Lordship with that I have learned of my most intelligent friends here, which I think necessary for your Honour to know. But I beg the favour when you have read them, that this letter be burnt, which is neither subscribed nor directed in case of miscarrying.

Some of the Scottish Nobility came to York to the Queen. They say a Scottish Nobleman (*Montrose*) with a Knight, Sir Robert Spotswood, came to the Queen with good proffers of real service; which were seconded by a Popish Lord *Nithisdale*. They were persuaded, the safest way was by the Queen, whose course by many is judged very constant and fixed, whereas other courses are too moveable. But the Marquess of *Hamilton* and another Nobleman (whose name I have forgotten, not being well acquainted with the Scotch Lords titles, but sure I am he was Treasurer in the time of the Scottish troubles) came too, knowing *Montrose's* intentions, and was so powerful with those whom her Majesty primely trusts, that he did defeat all their course and intentions, and made the Queen give little countenance to *Montrose*, who (as his countrymen say) is a generous spirit, but hath not so good an head-piece as *Hamilton*.

Hamilton hath undertaken to the Queen to keep the Scots at home. *Montrose* when he came home

A.D. 1643 being discontented hath reconciled himself to the Marquess of *Argyle*: yet I hear understanding Scots say, the quarrel and wrong is irreconcilable, and *Argyle* of his own nature implacable, yet is so subtle that he can hugely dissemble. If the Marquess of *Hamilton* keep what he hath promised to the Queen, all will be well. But the wiser sort suspect him, and ere long by the consequents it will appear. There be more than pregnant reasons to suspect him and fear the worst; as some inform. For *Montrose* was the only man to be the head and leader of the King's party: and being of an high spirit, cannot away with contempts and affronts. Since *Hamilton* went away, General *King* is suspected to be neither so zealous nor so forward in the service: and although it dare not be muttered, much less uttered, some say there be some jealousies growing betwixt the Queen and *Newcastle*, which are fomented by a great Munion of the Queen's, to whom it is suspected *Hamilton* hath undertaken to procure and work his peace with the Parliament. Yet I heard some Scottish men of my acquaintance say, that they will not be able to raise an army in *Scotland* to come in hither, there be so many who hate *Argyle's* faction; but their way will be to call their army out of *Ireland*: and then they will by power compel the unwilling. Time, and that shortly, will give more light of these things.

As for the state of the King's Court, by many wise men it is feared, that by his too great goodness, he is like to suffer (which God forbid that the best of men and Kings be so used) by some bad hollow-hearted Counsellors who affect too much the Parliamentary way. Many spare not to name them, and I doubt not but you have heard their names.

It is a great blessing that these two Princes A.D. 1643
 by so good a King. No man almost despaireth of
 the King's power; but the best and wisest subjects
 fear treason. The sparing of *Fielding* hath done a
 world of hurt. Give me leave to tell you one
 thing: on *Wednesday* the last of *May*, a Bishop of
Ireland, they call him Archbishop of *Ardmogh*, by
 the King's command was sent to him to prepare
 him to die, the scaffold and all for the execution
 set up; but an hour before the Earl of *Dorset* sent
 one *Smith* Provost Marshal of the castle to assure
 him that he should not die that day. When the
 execution was expected, a reprieve came: a pardon,
 they say, will follow. Sir *Ralph Hopton* hath
 mighty and wonderful success in the West: Prince
Maurice and the Marquess of *Hertford* are sent to
 the West. The Gentry come in apace; but the
 commons not so heartily, nor in any considerable
 number. The true reason is, as they say, my
 countrymen love their pudding at home better
 than a musket or pike abroad, and if they could
 have peace, care not what side had the better.
 The most remarkable passage in sending those two
 Nobles to the West (of which the Prince is to re-
 turn when the Marquess is in a strong enough
 body) is that fearing contramands to be obtained,
 they have engaged the King to do nothing con-
 cerning them or his service in the West, till he be
 acquainted and advised by the Lord *Seymour* the
 Marquess's brother, that contrary ways and courses
 by his wisdom (who is thought to be one of the
 best head-pieces here for wit) may be defeated; a
 good president for all men of honour; who are in
 favour with the King, and (as the case is) neces-
 sary to be imitated and practised; for it is better
 providing than be put to the after-game.

The Queen is certainly impeached of High-
 Treason. Yesterday the last of *May*, the House
 of

A.D. 1643 of Peers were to give their answer : what it is, as yet we cannot tell. It is rumoured and widely enough, that the Prince and Duke of *York* are to be charged to forsake the malignants, and to come in to the Parliament : otherwise they will proceed *prout de jure*, and the young Duke of *Glocester* shall be, &c. All the King's servants are to be cited too to come in ; otherwise, &c. Of the making of a new seal your Grace hath heard, and of Mr. *Martin's* proposition. But on the other side it is whispered, that within few days, we shall have a Royal Declaration against a pretended Parliament in high terms. Pox upon it, say we that would have peace ; but the Gentry so engaging on the Cavalier's side, and the fury of some in the Parliament are like to hold on this business, till either one way or other all the kingdom, by the one side or the other, will be declared Traitors, and no peace will be (except God work it) till one side be overthrown. Your Lordship is yet the happiest man, for you stand right in the King's judgment, and have a great place and degree in his affections, and by the other side too your Lordship hath your due, and we that are indifferent wish you well ; for your nobility, valour and integrity is acknowledged by all. Not the less, they say it is the part of a good General to keep in the day of battle a strong reserve by him, because the event of war is most uncertain. As you rely upon God's mercy, who I am confident hath much good to do with you, so I am hopeful your Lordship will keep a prudential way. There is not much hurt to be feared by any malign influence there, from that star which encouraged so many there to cross and discontent honest-hearted men, for it shineth little here. For my part, I can do nothing but ever honour and pray God for your Lordship, your most noble Lady and family, and that I may be

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

23

blameless am forced to be nameless, only ambitious to count it my greatest honour, and praying my happiness in that may continue, that I never cease to be

A.D. 1643

Your Honours, &c.

June 1, 1643.

C. LIENT

My Lord, pardon my boldness to witness for truth; the bearer hath most zealously agented what concerned your service, done it dextrously, hath gained upon the King's affections, and is a very fit Agent and dextrous.

Arthur Trevor Esq; to the Marquess of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellence,

SINCE my last humble dispatch to your Lordship by *Will. Summers*, I have not written to you, referring myself (and the little I had to say) to Mr. *Chichester's* passing hence: which I expected sooner than it now falls out.

My Lord, The King's business every where here begins to settle. The army is drawing into their winter-quarters, and disperse themselves at as great a distance as they can with security: which I suppose is done for the ease of this country and the saving of the contribution of these countries for the King to live upon, in lieu of his ancient demesne rents, which now find *Pym*, and are his boardland. *Henry Washington* is this day going with his regiment of Dragoons to fortify *Evesham*, and dispose of it the best he can for to sleep in this winter. Sir *Gilbert Gerard* is likewise marching to *Worcester* to winter and govern there. *William St. Leger*, by the

A.D. 1643 name of Sir *William*, and Lieutenant Colonel to *James Duke of York*, (for so he writes in bill, bond or obligation) is to quarter at *Tewkesbury*, with some other forces, which my Lord *Herbert* is to add to him. There go horse from hence to stand by him and *Washington*, whilst they are providing against ill neighbours and weather. The *Glocestershire* men are now in proposition about the levy of some 300 horse and 1800 foot, besides the trained bands of the county, reckoned when they were in their right minds at 4000, to join with the *Irish* in the blocking up of *Glocester*: but they cannot agree upon a General. My Lord *Conway*, upon the alliance he hath with the *Tracyes* of that country, puts in smartly for it; but I believe he will find a sad competitor of my Lord *Chandos*. For my part, I wish they would divide; for there is enough to venture upon them both.

My Lord *Hopton* taking advantage of *Waller's* return to *London*, where he knows of a necessity he must be lectured and feasted, is marched away with his army to *Southampton*; wherein if he prosper, he doth a mighty piece of the King's business, and will certainly thereby gain a brave haven, and utterly distress the isle of that sage Earl of *Pembroke*.

From *London* we hear, that *Essex* is there listening to the Ambassador, who is not yet returned, but held on by the hand there in expectation of some of the basket-makers of *Holland*, that promise to come hither and speak for them. *Say* and *Seale* begins to be melancholy. The people (in spite of preaching and church-work, whereby holy *Nathanael Fiens* was week after week cleared of fear or wit (treachery I mean) in the delivery of *Bristol*) call very outrageously for him to justice: and 'tis believed his beloved son must be gone. *Prynne* that

that Crop hath written a book and printed it, a- ^{A.D. 1643} gainst young *Fiens* about the loss of *Bristol*, and entitles it, *A Looking-glass for cowardly Governors*: which book had certainly been never licensed to have come into the air by that father of the Separatists *John White*, unless my Lord *Say* had fallen from grace in their reverend opinions.

The Lord *Fielding* is at *Coventry*, providing in all he can for to meet the *Scots*, who we hear by the last news from thence, are making all the haste they can to come in: and for that purpose have already lifted themselves for their voyage. Their number is uncertain. Sir *Thomas Glemham* hath been these three months in *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Durham*, fitting the countrymen the best he can to receive them. The spring will be the soonest they may be expected: and by that time my Lord of *Newcastle* will be returned into those parts out of *Derbyshire*, where he now lyeth, easing his own quarters and beating the rebels, as often as they make any head and look out. This is the last case these patriots of peace and the common good have: and truly I hope will serve them in the end for no other than their greater confusion. I am persuaded as soon as we have sure notice of the advance of the *Scots*, that Prince *Rupert* will come to the head of your Lordship's army, and what can be added thereunto by my Lord *Capel* and my Lord *Byron*, and march away to meet them. I wish from the bottom of my soul your Lordship's mighty occasions would give way to one good day and interview with those *Heathens*, that are as void of allegiance or honesty, as their beasts. But, my Lord, I despair of that happiness in this action: yet I am not out of hope, but that I may live to wait upon your Lordship in something else that will please me as well, and be as serviceable to his Majesty's interests.

A.D. 1643

The sickness still continues here. Sir *Peter Wyche* the Comptroller of the King's household dyed yesterday: and this morning his Lady. His successor is not known. My Lord of *Danby* I hear is likewise dead: and three of the most famous men of this University, *Cartwright*, *Diggs* and *Masters*, died here this last month. From *London* we hear, that *Pym* is crawling to his grave as fast as he can, and as full.

My good Lord, I have now tired your Lordship, and will ask very humbly your pardon, with this humble advice, that you fit yourself with some person that you can trust, and will be active about you in casting about for money to lie by your Lordship, and that hath knowledge to do it without the oppression of the people: for, my Lord, I see that commodity is like to rule the market more than ever.

My Lord, here is *Daniel Oneile* very serviceable to your Lordship's memory. His reputation is very good, and access no less with all those of the best credit in this state of the world. I think your Lordship may do your affairs no displeasure, if you will please to command him to serve you in any thing here, or in your next letters to me, that you will please to command me to go to him, and use him for your Lordship in what I shall have occasion.

My ever good Lord, I humbly again beg your Excellency's pardon, and am in all humility and for ever

Your Excellency's

Oxon, Dec. 9.
1643.

most obedient Servant,

A. TREVOR.

My

My Lord, as I was closing this letter to your *A.D. 1643*
Lordship, I hear of an unhappy and unhand-
some accident fallen out in the streets upon
that noble Gentleman Sir *Thomas Byron*, who
as he was coming out of his lodging was
met by one *Hurst*, (that had been a Quar-
termaster to him) and was assaulted by him ;
but before he could get out his sword, this
villain *Hurst* run him through the body un-
der the small ribs. He is much feared, and
the rather, for that he vomits in great ex-
tremity. The fellow is taken, and I hope
will be hanged to-morrow, whether Sir *Tho-*
mas die or not.

The same to the same.

May it please your Excellence,

MY letters of yesterday, sent for *Chester* by
Major *Verney*, and there to be put into my
brother's hands for the care of their passage to your
Excellence, will present you with the *Mercury*, the
lawful issue of this week, and with the rest of our
news, as the sons of the people. Whereunto I
can add nothing, but that the alarm of the Scots
heightens, and I do believe more of it than I did
yesterday ; being satisfied that the Marquess of
Hamilton (a constant apparition before the rising of
that people, and their swelling over the banks of
Tweed) is come to *Newcastle*. The *English* begin
to be full of discontents, that they swarm so about
the King, now in a time when the Nation is com-
ing upon him to tear his Crown from his head.

Sir *Patrick Wemyss*, I presume, hath brought
you your commission long ere this. I sent for a
copy of my Lord of *Leicester's* to *London*, to
which that of your Lordship's refers ; and was fain
to

A.D. 1643 to let Sir *Patrick Wemyss* have it with him, the haste of his dispatch not giving me leisure for a transcript. I beseech your Lordship, that by the next messenger I may be furnished with copies. I would willingly make myself as perfect in all your rights and jurisdictions as I can, and as soon. You will have an absolute necessity of an Agent of good understanding, in making your Lordship a constant return of this place: which he will never be able to do serviceably to your affairs, unless he be a person of some quality and consideration, and above all, acquainted well with the temper of both kingdoms. It will add to your business more than it will take from your revenue: and truly, my Lord, in that you must not be sparing.

In this there is one thing more, that I desire you will please to expect in your minister; that he be your Lordship's alone. I have no fancy to see you served in parted-coats, or your business carried by one hand, whilst another holds him by the other. My good Lord, I beseech you to pardon in me this boldness with you in your Lordship's occasions. My humble meaning is to serve you in all I can, and if I miss in that, I will not in the other: for in spite of all, I will mean well, and for ever be in all duty

Your Lordship's

10 Dec. 1643.

most faithful Servant,

A. TREVOR.

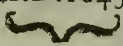
Arthur Jones Lord *Ranelagh* is here, passing a pardon for saying nothing in Parliament.

Capt.

Capt. Byrch to G. Carr the M. of Ormonde's
Secretary.

S I R,

I HAD forgotten more than I should, if I had ^{A.D. 1643} not remembered you. I had intended to have written to more friends; but you and they must remember how great a perindinator I am. This morning we are to march against as contemptible an enemy as ever we had in *Ireland*. Some experience we have had of it already: and I hope before to-morrow night we shall see more what valour rebels profess. At our first landing we met with several disrespective warrants from Sir *William Brereton*, requiring all from 16 to 60 to be in arms to defend themselves from the invasion of 4000 bloody Irish rebels. He could not have done us a greater courtesy, than telling so loud a lie. (The honest Welsh received us very courteously, who were then ready to yield the bucklers, not for love but fear of the faction.) This was required to be published through *Wales* that we were such, that is, as far as Sir *Thomas Middleton's* faction prevailed. This caused several religious Ministers that loved Conscience and the King, to withdraw themselves, and not few of the laity; though we found enough besides to bid us heartily welcome. At *Hollywell* the first place we came to, though the town were mostly Papists, we were told they pillaged none but the Churches (in want of linen) and the poor Curate. At *Northop* (thither we came next) they took away the surplice again, and did no other harm. It was their time of probationership amongst disarmed people: and you must understand the Minister staid, and was a Scotchman. Thence to *Hawarden* (*Harding*) we came, where
our

A.D. 1643 our men besieged the castle there, (but lately and  falsely betrayed by its owner a week before we came, a man intrusted much by the King and his officers, the more is his sin, one *Ravenscroft*) where we stayed three days; in which time very happily we had six men killed; for at no less cost would our men believe that Englishmen would fight with any Englishmen but Papists. And I cannot honestly conceal from you, that three of these were killed more basely than ever you heard of any killed by the rebels of *Ireland*; for while some called them unto them from the top of the wall upon pretence of old acquaintance, and promised them sacredly they should receive no harm by their approaching, others shot at them and missed not. The practices of their ring-leader *Brereton* were not more honest nor honourable; who the very same day that he sent his warrants as far as they could reach in *Wales*, (and it may likely be the very same hour too) writ a letter to our Commander (then on ship-board) almost in form of an humble petition, extolling to the skies their brave adventures in *Ireland* in defence of the Protestant Religion (which God knows he is sick of) confessing the unworthy reward the Parliament gave them for that service, desiring them to have them excused, promising them if they would adhere unto them, they should have all their arrears undoubtedly, and humbly intreating that it would please them to accept of a parley. It was answered as nobly as men could answer rebels. I will not trouble myself to repeat it, because I believe copies are sent over by this. Well! Sir *William* receiving a short and flat answer what he was to trust to, and our men denying parley with rebels, he being at *Wrexham* and having an army that might have done something with our men, they being newly landed (after six days being at sea many of them) many arms un-
fixed,

fixed, many of them disaffected to ourselves, *A.D. 1643* and very many straggled among their friends, (tho' now we miss scarce any that came over with us) yet it pleased God to add such fear to him, that we being many miles from him, for fear the Devil should take the hindmost, he made Proclamation through his camp, that no man should stir on pain of death till further directions. As soon as that was done, lest he should be jostled at the bridge of *Holt*, the utmost term of the Welsh border, he most valiantly went over first, and then suffered the rest, routed only by conscience, to follow him. Flush'd thus with his miraculous escape, the spirit enlightened him to look back again into *Wales*, (which I believe he will see no more, but in a map or out of *Beefton* castle) he commanded (in the way of jealousies and fears) that the draw-bridge should be broken down; which had been enough to make our men seek another way, if they were minded for *Cheeshire*. Which done, our much respected forces ten miles off not yet appearing, he most desperately adventured to see an arch of the great bridge broken down for the Country's good and the liberty of the subject. Good man! he says, there is no fighting against us: we are Devils.

I return to *Hawarden* castle; (tho' now going a contrary way.) The besieged there expected daily succours: our men knowing the contrary, fed them in that expectation to starve them. There were therein about 120 men, being all that was left of Sir *Thomas Middleton's* regiment, seditious chaplain and all, except himself. Their necessity was of nothing more than of water: it was taken for a miracle, that it rained in winter, and they had leads to preserve it; and (which is strange) they were persuaded the water came from heaven. Our men most part withdrew to *Chester*, leaving only

A.D. 1643 only two companies of our own, and as I take it, 500 Welshmen to watch them. After 11 days or 12 at most, they delivered the castle on condition they should march away with half their arms, one colour, 25*l.* worth of goods: which articles were not so well performed as I could have wished; but our men profess they could not help it, but it was the fault of some of the Lord *Chomley's* men, who bid them remember *Reading*. For which fact, they say, Capt. *Sandford* hewed some of our own side sufficiently, and (which was more than the articles required) guarded them out of *Wales*; where they will have no cause to fear the King's enemies again, we having now garrisons in all the *Marches*.

Now if you desire to know what I find by my little experience in *Britain* of the behaviour of our zealots, I can do no less, (if no more) than confirm what you have often heard. All the honest and religious Clergy of *Wales* were fled to *Conway* and other safe places, till our landing set them at liberty; which was every whit as welcome and seasonable, and even more needful in this than the weakest part of the kingdom, than Sir *Simon Harcourt's* coming into *Ireland*, the joy of which you came in the nick to take notice of. All the orthodox Clergy of *Cheshire* and *Lancashire* are either here or in *Yorkshire*, or in prison. They say, they have lately seized upon some men that would not publish in their Churches, that we were Irish rebels. I myself coming into the Church of *Harwarden* the morning after they were there, found the Common-prayer-book scattered up and down the Chancel; and some well-read man without doubt, conceiving the Common-prayers had been in the beginning of a poor innocent old Church Bible, tore out almost all *Genesis* for failing, it stood so dangerously it was suspected to be malignant. In

win-

windows where there was oriental glass they broke *A.D. 1643* in pieces only the faces; to be as frugal as they could; they left sometimes the whole bodies of painted Bishops, though in their rochets. But if there was any thing in the language of the beast, though it was but an *hoc fecit*, or at worst *orate*, &c. (and I but guess for I could not read it when it was gone) which had stood many years, and might many more without idolatry, that was dashed out. They had pulled down the rails about the table, and very honestly reared them to the wall: (it was well they were in a coal Country, where fuel was plentiful) and brought down the table into the midst of the Church. Some of our soldiers came and swore it stood not right, (alas! that we have no better reformation) and set it close to the *East* wall again. At *Wrexham* they say (I was not there) they did the like villany almost in all points, and broke in pieces one of the best pair of organs in the King's dominions: which Sir *Thomas Middleton* took for his proper pillage to make bullets of. I am weary of these truths.

This day we march out 4000 foot at least, and 1000 horse. We may go where we will for our enemies, if we have God's blessing; which I hope we shall not want, if not for our own, for our enemies sakes. One thing I had almost forgot. On *Saturday* last we received a most gracious letter from his Majesty, (which if I had so much time I would have sent you, and I hope some good man will) “ expressing his joy for our landing, his thankfulness for our so honest refusal of the rebels propositions, his hopes that the time would be that he might be more able to reward us for our service in *Ireland*, his sense of the unworthy desertion of him by the Parliament, from whom he expected better when he trusted them, his fear lest the report that they were *Irish* rebels

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A.D. 1643 “ might do them some harm, his desires that there-
 fore they should exprefs in all places the detef-
 tation they have of the odiousnefs of that rebellion,
 and that by their constant prayers and fermons
 they would make men underftand what religion
 they fight for.” This is the fum as near as I can
 relate: and if you have opportunity to compare it
 with the copy at large, you’ll find it to this purpofe,
 if not in the fame words.

I am, &c.

*Chefter, at the Red-Lyon with-
 out Eaftgate, Dec. 12, 1643.*

HARRY BYRCH.

I pray remember me to Dr. *Sibbald*, and tell him
 Capt. *Spotswood* died gallantly, and hath left a
 very honourable name behind him. I will write
 to the Doctor myfelf e’re long.

Sir Robert Byron to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

I Doubt not, but before this comes to your Ex-
 cellency’s hands, you will have heard of the
 carriage of our bufinefs with Sir *William Brereton*
 at *Middlewich* on St. *Stephen’s* day; but left it
 fhould fuffer any miftake (as it may well do) by
 fuch as take it but by report, I think it my duty
 to give your Excellency this following relation.

Having made our quarter at *Beclye*, at a conveni-
 ent diftance from *Namptwicke*, the firft bufinefs we
 undertook was the taking in of a church, which after
 fummons they refufing to furrender we took and
 put all the men to the fword: which hath made the
 reft love churches the worfe ever fince. On *Chrift-*
mas day we rofe with the army upon intelligence
 that Sir *William* was drawing to an head at *Sanbage*,

a place famous for strong ale. When we came with-^{A.D. 1643} in a mile and half of the place, we discovered about 200 horse of theirs seeming to make a pass good against us. We drew up in order, and as soon as we were ready advanced towards them: they instead of making the pass good, drew themselves off and away, and left us their quarter, but not a drop of ale. This night we lodged at *Sanbage*, and having sent parties of horse abroad to know what was become of the zealous crew, in the morning notice was brought us they were all at *Middlewich*, whither we marched directly. We were but three regiments there, *Warren's* not being yet come up, and Sir *Foulk Hunkes's* with a regiment of horse remained behind, for the safety of our quarters and baggage. So Col. *Gibson* had the van, I the battle, and Sir *Michael Eearnly* the rear. When we came near the town, the enemy were drawn out twice musket-shot from the town, and had placed themselves in hedges and ditches to as much advantage as could be. Col. *Gibson* drew upon my left-hand, whither I know not; I fell on right before me, where I saw the enemy most busy. I disputed with them an hour and something more; and could not make them budge. All this while I had never a second; at last I discerned some few of *Gibson's* men coming, at the same instant I was shot: the enemy (it seems) seeing relief coming, quit and began to run; but gave fire as they went, till they came to the town. There almost 300 of them took sanctuary in the church: the rest ran through the town, where our horse overtook them, and did pretty good execution upon them; and because we would not be hindred in our pursuit of them, we were glad to give quarter to them in the church. There were slain of them about 300 and upwards, prisoners 274. We got good store of excellent good arms, and good store of munition:

A.D. 1643 there was hurt of my regiment myself, three captains, and a Lieutenant, and 41 soldiers, whereof 15 killed outright. Captain *Farrell* and his Lieutenant died the next day. The whole service of that day fell upon my regiment: I pray God they never do worse than they did then.

For other news, I know your Excellency receives daily advertisements from better pens, and the anguish of my hurt made me heedless of any thing; this being the first day I have been able to sit up, which I a little forced myself unto, that I might not seem unthinking in my respects to your Excellency, which I shall ever endeavour to preserve, being by so many obligations due from

Your Excellency's, &c.

Chester, Jan. 9.
1643.

ROBERT BYRON.

Lord Byron to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord,

BY your Excellence's letter of the 16th of this month, I perceive that none of mine (excepting the first which was written in great haste) are come to your Excellence's hands. In them I gave your Excellence a larger account of what had passed in this army; but fear they are miscarried. It hath pleased God of late so to turn the tide of our good fortune here, that I cannot continue a relation in the same stile; but however it be not pleasing, I am sure it is expedient, I should faithfully relate to your Excellence as well our ill, as our good success.

After the defeat we had given the rebels at *Middlewich*, and that we had taken in two strong houses possessed by them near *Namptwicke*, it was thought

fit we should draw nearer the town and block it up; finding it to be of that importance, that unless we were masters of that town, we could not assure ourselves of any thing in the country. Within a few days after, some letters were intercepted from Sir *Thomas Fairfax* (who was then in *Lincolnshire* with 30 troops of horse) to *Brereton*; wherein he assured him to assist him with all that force, and to bring the foot of *Staffordshire* along with him to join with those of *Lancashire*. Whereupon I acquainted my Lord of *Newcastle* with the design, and desired him (his army then lying that way) to prevent *Fairfax's* march: which if he had done, the town had within a few days been delivered up to me. But his occasions drawing him back into *Yorshire*, *Fairfax* immediately advanced into *Staffordshire*, and being come as far as *Newcastle* with a good part of his horse, lest he should draw the foot together of that county, I immediately rose with almost all the horse I had, and a party of commanded musqueteers, and fell into his quarter, not being above 8 miles from me, took above an hundred of his horse together with their colours and officers, killed and hurt as many more, and drove the rest away in such confusion, that they rested not till they came into *Lancashire*, where they staid some time, ere *Brereton* could persuade any of that country to join with him. But at length finding themselves secure from my Lord of *Newcastle*, and that the loss of *Namptwicke* would make us absolute masters of *Cheshire*, and thereby endanger *Lancashire*, the forces of that country were persuaded to join with *Fairfax* and *Brereton* to the number of above 2000 foot, besides a rabble of cudgellers, and immediately marched towards us.

So soon as I had intelligence of their approach, (which in this ill-affected country I could never procure, but by parties of horse which I sent forth)


A.D 1643 it was resolved we should rise and fight with them, being equal to them in horse, and not far inferior in foot, as having 1500 to meet their 2000 withal; our men being much impaired by sickness and hurts, and not a few run away. It fell out unfortunately that the night before we fought with them, a small river that ran betwixt our quarters, swelled so upon the falling of rain and melting of the snow, that one part of the army was forced to march six miles before it could join with the other: before which time the enemy had gained a pass upon us, where we thought to have stopt him. Nevertheless Col. *Gibson*, who had the ordering of the field as Major-General, in regard of Sir *Mich. Erneley's* infirmity, was confident we had advantage enough over them, and Col. *Moncke*, being at the same time come from P. *Rupert* with a commission to raise a regiment, added great alacrity to the soldiers, especially Col. *Warren's*, where he marched as volunteer. The place of the battle was in an inclosed country, where horse could do little service, and not above a mile from *Namptwicke*: which I forewarned the Major-General of, and desired especial care might be taken lest we should receive prejudice by any sally out of the town: which he assured me he had done. His own regiment had the right wing; my brother's the left; *Warren's* and Sir *Mich. Erneley's* the battle; *Huncks's* regiment was to wait upon them that should attempt to sally out of the town.

At the first encounter we had much the better of them, both our wings clearly beating both theirs, and were possessed of many of their colours: and had given them a total defeat, had not Col. *Warren's* men and Sir *Mich. Erneley's* at the same time (notwithstanding all the endeavours of their officers) retreated, without almost fighting a stroke; so that the enemies battle fell into the flanks of both our wings: and at the same time the enemy sallied out

of the town with at least 600 men, and possessed themselves of a church-yard where all our carriages stood. Most of the officers retreated into the church, where they were all taken prisoners; only my brother's regiment had the good fortune to bring off their colours with very little loss; only Sir *Francis Butler* was unfortunately taken by a mistake of the enemies colours for his own. The ground was so inclosed that the horse could do no service; and some of them who were struck with a panick fear, so disordered the rest, that though they did not run away, yet it was impossible to make them charge. I staid above two hours after all the business of the foot was done, to try if any thing could be done for the recovery of the cannon and carriages; but all was in vain; so that I was forced to retreat to *Chester*, with what foot I could gather together of several regiments, which were betwixt 1000 and 1200, where now we are in a sad condition, the enemy braving us to the gates of the city, though with our horse we have hitherto beaten them back with loss to themselves.

All the comfort we have is the recruit, that your Excellence is sending; but truly, my Lord, the enemy is grown so strong upon their late success, that without a larger supply we shall be able to do little good: and I could wish they were rather Irish than English; for the English we have already are very mutinous, and being for the most part this country-men, are so poisoned by the ill-affected people here, that they grow very cold in this service; and since the rebels here call in the Scots, I know no reason why the King should make any scruple of calling in the Irish, or the Turks if they would serve him. But this I shall humbly submit to your Excellence's better judgment.

There is one Capt. *Maynard* who hath offered his service very opportunely, and if it may stand with

A.D. 1643  your Excellence's good liking, will bring over a regiment for me. I shall desire your favour and assistance in it. As for the powder your Excellence sends, I shall take care that either money or provisions be returned for it; which I hope will be equivalent. There is nothing I am more ambitious of than your Excellence's favour and good opinion, which though my present misfortunes make me unworthy of, yet I hope they will not so far lessen me in your esteem, but that I may still be honoured with the reputation of being,

My Lord, &c.

Chester, Jan. 30.
1643.

JOHN BYRON.

Sir Robert Byron to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellence,

I Gave your Excellence an account of our business at *Middlewich* by a letter, which I sent accompanied with one from my brother, which it seems were not come to your Excellence's hands.

Since that day's good fortune, our whole actions have been nothing but disasters. It began with my unkle *Byron's* surprisal, coming from *Skrewsbury* to the army in company of *Sir Richard Willis* (who had the command of 400 horse) to convoy some ammunition to the army. Quarters within four miles of *Wem*, a small garrison of the enemy's, they with 120 horse and as many foot, seized upon them before any alarm was given, some of the officers got off and about 200 of the horse; the rest were all made prisoners.

In the neck of this, we received another great loss by storming the town; which being generally agreed upon by a council of war, was accordingly put in execution. Some of the regiments did very gallantly,

gallantly, and not only entered their works, but ^{A.D. 1643} my Lieutenant-Colonel with some of my regiment got within the town; but for want of seconds, the enemy being very strong within, were forced to retreat to our great loss. Upon this service we lost Lieutenant-Colonel *Bouton* and *Sandford*, with four Captains more, many Lieutenants and Ensigns slain, and divers Captains and other Officers wounded: of soldiers hurt and slain 400.

These were great losses, yet such as we were in hope in a short time to recover again: and for all this ill fortune, our soldiers retained their courage still: which gave encouragement to the continuance of the siege; whilst the enemy left no way untried to enable themselves for the relief of the town. And on *Thursday* last Sir *Tho. Fairfax*, who was come to their relief with six regiments of foot, and some 1200 horse, advanced where we had taken our ground. To oppose him our army was drawn in several inclosures, where our horse (which we were superior in) could do no good, nor we help one another, by reason of the great distance from one another: yet *Gibson's* regiment and mine held them very good play and lost nothing by them. *Warren's* regiment, tho' they had their beloved Colonel *Moncke* in the head of them, was no sooner charged but they broke, and being rallied again, the next charge ran quite away. Some say, they played foul play, and ran over to the enemy, at the least 60 of them, and fired upon us. By this time they in the town had got 1000 musqueteers ready to sally out upon us. There was a bridge betwixt us and them, which they must pass. There instead of 400 men my brother appointed to make that pass good, Col. *Gibson* had appointed but 100, who were quickly beaten off and left the passage. Being over, the next regiment was Sir *Mich. Erneley's*, who stood not long to dispute with them; but broke
and

A.D. 1643 and ran. All this while *Gibson's* regiment and mine held entire; till being overcharged on all sides with horse and foot, were forced every man to shift for himself as well as he could. It was now high time for my men to think of a retreat: which they did against two regiments of the enemy that pursued them; they keeping them off still with giving fire in the rear, till they recovered the horse which secured them. *Frank Butler* was unfortunately taken in the coming off, by mistaking a regiment of theirs, thinking it had been ours. We had not ten men killed in fight. We lost all our artillery, munition and baggage: all our Colonels taken prisoners, and most of the rest of the officers. We have rallied again of the soldiers about 1300: and I believe many are yet straggling in the country. We hear many of the soldiers that were prisoners, especially of *Warren's*, have taken conditions with them. Thus your Excellence sees what a desperate condition this Country is in; which wholly relies upon such supplies, as your Excellence shall think fit for their relief.

I presume upon your Excellence's pardon, and praying heartily for your successful and happy government.

I rest, &c.

Chester this last of
Jan. 1643.

ROB. BYRON.

Declaration of the Marquess of Montrose and other Scotch Noblemen against the Scots invading England in 1643, published at Oxford.

WE his Majesty's loyal subjects of the Scottish nation whose names are under-written, having a right and faithful sense of the undeserved sufferings of our gracious Sovereign, and of the sad condition at present

present of all his Majesty's dominions, through the dis-
loyalty and rebellion of a traiterous and most ungrateful
faction in both kingdoms; and being, as becomes us,
most particularly and most deeply afflicted, that any of
our nation should have had, and still have, so great
a hand in inducing and continuing those publick cala-
mities, as that for the treacherous and perfidious prac-
tices of some, our whole nation is in danger of suffer-
ing the detestable imputation of partaking in this odi-
ous rebellion: which misunderstanding is principally
occasioned by the power, which those unnatural and
disloyal persons have gotten of countenancing their
most treasonable actions with the forms and glosses
of publick authority. We being desirous, not only
to vindicate ourselves, but as far as in us lies our na-
tion, from that infamy which some of our traiterous
countrymen have drawn upon themselves, and
would gladly involve the whole in their crime,
have thought fit to express, in this solemn declara-
tion, our hatred and detestation of the rebellion in
both kingdoms, and of the present invasion of this
of *England* by those of our nation, and also our
judgment of the late pretended Convention, the
source and fountain of these treasons and impieties:
And we do hereby profess and declare, that we es-
teem the said pretended Convention to be a pre-
sumptuous, illegal and traiterous meeting, as being
designed to excite sedition and rebellion in that
kingdom, and a most unjust invasion of this. And
as we do utterly disclaim and abhor the same, so do
we in like manner all Committees general or parti-
cular, flowing from the same, and all acts, ordi-
nances and decrees made and given therein, and
particularly that traiterous and damnable Covenant
taken and imposed by the rebels of both kingdoms,
which we heartily and unfeignedly detest, and shall
never enter into by force, persuasion or any respect
whatsoever; as being a most impious imposition
upon

A.D. 1643

A.D. 1643 upon men's consciences to engage them under a false pretence of religion in treason and rebellion against their Sovereign. And we do further renounce and detest any authority, either of the Convention or Parliament, as to the levying of arms upon any colour whatsoever without his Majesty's consent. And we do sincerely profess that we do esteem our countrymen's present taking of arms, and their invading this realm of *England*, to be an act of high-treason and rebellion, and hold ourselves obliged by allegiance and by the act of Pacification to oppose and withstand the same; like as we promise upon our honour every one of us faithfully to employ our uttermost power and abilities both with lives and fortunes to suppress the said rebels now in arms against his Majesty and his Crown of *England*. In which just cause we do make the like engagement firmly and constantly to adhere to one another, and to all his Majesty's faithful subjects that shall join with us in that endeavour, and in this declaration of our fidelity.

William Fleming. Robert Spotswoode. Forth. Cra-furd. Montrose. Ogilby. Hay. David Scrymson. Abercorne. Nithisdail. D. Reay. Wailland. J. Innis. Jo. Macbrayn. Tho. Ogilay. Kinnoull. J. Aboyn. Inns Innes. Philip Nesbott. John Honston. J. Coke-ran. Traquaire. Alex. Leslie. Ogilvy. James Gordon. Wi. Morray. Alex. Charters. Alex. Smith.

The Archbishop of York to the M. Ormonde,

May it please your Excellency,

WITH so much of the letter I received by this bearer, as did concern the new and further supply, I did instantly acquaint both the King and (occasion so offered) the Queen's Majesty;

ity ; who both received it very acceptably, and com- A.D. 1643
 manded me to leave your Excellency's letter with
 the Lord *Digby* : which I did accordingly. From
 whom I do conceive, by what fell from his Lord-
 ship in some discourse with me, your Excellency
 hath received some return e're this.

I humbly thank your Excellency for your conti-
 nual care of those parts wherein I sojourn : but what
 arms or ammunition are fallen to *Chester* or Lord
Byron's hands, are gone thither *unde negant redire*
quicquam, from whence we of *Wales* shall have no
 return of any thing, but must depend upon your
 Excellency's further charity towards us, upon some
 opportunity of transportation.

I have very little to write, and not much (if I
 were upon the place) to say unto your Excellency.
 Somewhat I shall presume to do : but the bearer
 hath freed me of one scruple ; that the patents for
 Lieutenancy being but during pleasure, the latter
 may supersede the former, without further legal
 discharge or surrender. Otherwise your Lordship is
 too prudent to conceive, there can be any want of
 malice, either in the pretended Parliament of *West-*
minster, or in my neighbour here, your predecessor
 in that place, to raise (if God for our sins should
 worst our side) all objections which can be invented
 against your Excellency.

Things are so unfixed in this Court, and his Ma-
 jesty (out of his too much goodness and piety) so
 obnoxious to be shaken and removed, by variety of
 counsels, out of any settled resolution ; that I pre-
 sume your Excellency is stored (and so you had
 need be) with some fundamental instructions for the
 government of that kingdom, as are not to be whif-
 pered away or discomposed with private informa-
 tions, or letters of command upon such grounds as
 those. If the worst fall out, which for the great-
 ness

A.D. 1643 } nefs of our fins is not impossible, whoſoever gives
the advice, your Excellency muſt bear the fault.

The Lord *Digby* is like to be the only man of affairs upon whom your Excellency can place your rule. He is a man of good fortunes, parts, induſtry and honour, and is paſt the rubicon, though not peradventure ſo forwardly advanced as your Excellency. Moſt of our other gameſters are not yet come ſo far in, but that they have an eye upon the door, and ſome reſervation of hope to ſteal out again upon occaſion. We are not unmenaced, nor without daily loſſes in this very place : and if we be ſecure (as I hope we yet are) it is not becauſe we are not very weak and poor, but becauſe the enemy (though they face it better) are every way as weak, and almoſt as poor as we are.

It were impertinency to put your Excellency in mind, that you are to play your game wholly in your own tables, without expecting any help or much advice from this kingdom, until God vouchſafe to ſend us better times. If you could rid that iſland from thoſe venomous men of the North, as nature hath done it from venomous beaſts, you might live happily within yourſelves, and be the moſt bleſſed neighbours that ever this kingdom had. They have been hitherto not ſo much beaten (I fear me) as a little flea-bitten, ſithence their bold invaſion of this miſerable kingdom.

God Almighty bleſs your Excellency in all your endeavours, is the prayer of

Your Excellency's, &c.

Queen's College, Oxon,
March 7, 1643.

J. EBOROC.

Sir

Sir G. Radcliffe to the M. of Ormonde.

My noble Lord,

I AM am very much your Lordship's servant *A.D. 1643*
for your favour shewn to Mr. *Carpenter* at the
last meeting of Parliament; whereby he is freed
from the occasion of much clamorous trouble. I
beseech your Lordship continue your goodness still
towards him; which I shall acknowledge as great
an obligation, as if it were done immediately to my-
self. I have been a suiter to his Majesty for his li-
berty and future protection: and I have procured
so much, as I conceive will be a good warrant for
that favour which your Lordship shall think fit to
extend unto him.

I perceive by Lord *Digby*, that the Earl of *An-
trim* was a suiter for *Bagnal* to be Governor of
Newry: but Lord *Digby* stopt it; so I think that is
at peace. The Prince Elector doth write kindly,
others would say basely to the Roundhead Parlia-
ment of *England*; and is expected to come over
shortly with his mother to *London*, where no doubt
he shall have some great office, as great Constable
under the new Great Seal. This is our conceipt.

My Lord, I have not any thing worth your
trouble more than Mr. *Summers* can tell you; on-
ly to write myself

Your Excellency's, &c.

*Oxon, March 8,
1643.*

G. RADCLIFFE.

The M. of Ormonde to the Archbishop of York.

May it please your Grace,

A.D. 1644

WHEN Col. *Trafford* was ready to embark himself and 300 good well armed men, above 20 barrells of powder, with match proportionable, and six pieces of iron ordnance well fitted, being aboard of Capt. *John Bartlet*, all for the defence of *Anglesey*, here arrived two Parliament-ships and a frigate to hinder this preparation made at my very great and particular charge. I have since tried from other ports to send them away, but the too good intelligence those ships have from their friends on shore of all our motions, makes me unwilling to hazard so good men and provisions; the unfortunate taking of Col. *Willoughby* with about 150 men bound for *Bristol* by some of their fellows, and their inhuman throwing over-board of 70 men and two women under the name of Irish rebels, making the men also very fearful to venture upon the voyage, it being very well known to them, that most of the men so murdered had with them served against the Irish, and all of them lived during the war in our quarters. In addition to these difficulties, we are here threatned with an invasion of the Scots out of the North, who have treacherously surprized *Belfast*, and attempted other English garrisons; so that until these seas be cleared, and the danger of the Scots over, *Anglesey* can expect little (indeed no) succour out of *Ireland*.

I had a message delivered me from your Grace by Mr. *Lutterell*, and some intimation of the same thing from my good friend Mr. *Trevor*: whereupon I humbly besought your Grace's leave to take notice of, and vindicate myself from that very false and malicious scandal cast upon me by a person that I
never

never injured, unless he understands my preventing the seduction of the army here from his Majesty's obedience by his instruments and sons to be injury to him. But my part being to justify myself by other means than recrimination, I humbly desire it may go no further, unless your Grace will be pleased to tell it my accuser to heighten his malice; which out of the clearness of my soul I do more despise than I wish to revenge. In this I most earnestly beg your Grace's speedy leave, that I may prove myself in some degree (at least so far as innocency from so black a crime will make me) worthy the continuance of your favour and the name of

Your Grace's

*Dublin-Castle,
May 27, 1644.*

most faithful humble Servant,

ORMONDE.

The Archbishop of York to the M. of Ormonde;

May it please your Excellency;

I Humbly thank your Excellency for your great care of this poor Country from time to time, and especially for this great provision prepared under Colonel *Trafford*, for whose person I am particularly much obliged to your Excellency.

Sir *John Mennes* is appointed Governor by Prince *Rupert* of these three Counties, and abides as yet at *Beaumaris*; but hath no force at all in readiness, nor hath hitherto so much as taken a general or particular muster, and seems not to like well of the imployment nor the people over much of him. I received but even now a letter from his Majesty to go and piece up (if I can) some breaches between

A D. 1644 him and his subjects of *Anglesey*; which I must go to understand from him as soon as I can.

I found by his Highness Prince *Rupert*, as he was putting into the field, that he expected, and had some design upon, the 300 men and Colonel *Traf-ford*: and more particulars I do not understand in that business; whether his Highness intended to have him along with him this voyage, or to place him here (for he is not too much in love with *Mennes*) I know not.

But if your Excellency shall detain the men, by reason of these occasions, in the North of *Ireland*; if you shall be pleased to let Captain *Bartlet* bring hither the cannon and ammunition, and to trust them at *Conway*, the cannon shall be safe, and the ammunition paid for, with due acknowledgment of those great favours.


I have likewise presumed to be an humble suitor unto your Excellence for the greater of some 4 or 5 skiffs, or small frigates, which lie there unused and two pieces of ordnance to be used in her; in hopes Captain *Bartlet* (if this taking of *Liverpool* shall call away the ships which guard him) will do me the favour to hale her to *Beaumaris* after his ship, and it shall be kept ready to serve your Excellency from time to time.

My most noble Lord, for Mr *Lutterell* his relation I have already written unto your Excellency by Mr. *Arthur Trevor* from *Worcester*, and sithence by the Lord *Dillon*, that without wronging that Lord, (with whom I desire to have neither friendship nor enmity) I cannot justify upon him any words to that effect mentioned in your Lordship's letter; to wit, that he should ever say in my hearing that your Excellency was the cause of that rebellion or the first mover in the same. Had he said any thing of that nature unto me, I had undoubtedly acquainted his Majesty with the same, being sworn of his Council,

as well as his Lordship. But Mr. *Lutterell* might A.D. 1644
 be mistaken in my words or relation. Because I
 told him indeed, that the Lord did no way love
 your Excellency, and that your Excellency was to
 account of him accordingly; that his Lordship said
 your Excellency had lost nothing in point of private
 estate by the war, wherein he was contradicted open-
 ly by myself and another Gentleman; and that your
 Excellency brought not ten men of all your retain-
 ers to aid the King, but raised your Excellency's
 reputation by his the said Lord's forces and prepa-
 rations. To which he was so roundly answered
 upon the place, as in truth, most noble Lord, it
 needs no further expostulation; especially it being
 but table talk.

I am not so punctually informed of the occur-
 rents of the time, as to presume to give your Excel-
 lency any taste of them. Prince *Rupert*, after the
 taking of *Liverpool*, (but not nine of the great ships
 which are fallen upon the North of *England* or *Ire-*
land) is gone in full speed to relieve the Marquess of
Newcastle at *York*; if the ill-conduct of the Court-
 army do not call him thither, (the words of the let-
 ter I now received from his camp near *Warrington*.)
 His Majesty seemeth to be drawing back again to *Ox-*
ford. My Lord of *Londonderry* writes, that he hears
 that the Scots were repelled in three assaults they
 made upon *York* with the loss of 3000 men; and that
 they have raised their siege. I would there were as
 much truth in this, as in another part of the news,
 that those rogues are got into *Hull*. Prince *Mau-*
rice is still at *Lime*; which is all I can add to what I
 formerly wrote unto your Excellency.

I beseech your Excellency to extend your favour
 to one Mr. *Evan Lloyd*, a Prebendary of one of the
 Cathedrals in *Dublin*, and one whose honesty and
 good parts I have known of a Child; he having
 been my pupil, his Majesty had given him the poor

A.D. 1644  bishoprick of *Kilphanora* in that kingdom, but because he stooped upon his *Commendam*, I returned it back to his Majesty again, because it had been much loss.

God Almighty ever blefs and preserve your Excellency.

Your Excellency's

Conway, June 19, *most humble and devoted Servant,*
1644.

J. EBOROC.

Daniel Oncile to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord,

THE knave that advised you to provide for the King was not far from his account; for the Gentleman was forced to quit *Oxford* at the approach of *Essex* and *Waller* with their prodigious number of cocknies: and never stopped until he came to *Beawley* castle in *Worcestershire*. *Essex* with the gros of his army quitted him at *Burford* and went westward: but sent the teaser *Waller* after him with 6000 horse and dragoons, who by the way was to join with my Lord *Denby*, who had very considerable forces in *Warwick*. That design my Lord *Wilmot*, by a seasonable blow he gave *Denby*, prevented; which gave a check to *Waller's* great hopes, and made him think rather of his safety than prey. This intermission gave his Majesty leisure to return to *Oxford*, where he is now in no ill condition. What *Essex* does in the West we do not know: but many letters to these parts say, that Prince *Maurice* and my Lord *Hopton* have as considerable an army as his.

The defeat, which your Lordship heard the Scots had, was given them by the Marquess of
New-

Newcastle: it was a sad blow; the moderate call it ^{A.D. 1644} 3500 killed and taken. It happened by the breaking of a bridge, which *Lesly* made over the *Ouse*, which so divided their army, that neither could succour the other. They speak of another rap of the same nature, but much credit is not given unto it. Notwithstanding my Lord Marquess finds himself so little a master of *Yorkshire*, that he never left pressing of the Prince, until he has drawn him to him, where he is at this instant, either an *Alexander* or a prig. His going left the work of *Lancashire* much unfinished. There are only *Latham* and *Liverpool* garrisoned: the last was no such boot as we heard; for all the riches and ammunition that were in it, were conveyed to the ships before it was taken. The Prince in hope to find a magazine there to conquer the rest of the kingdom, was so lavish of his own, that at his going from thence he had not 20 barrels of powder. If any thing will be his bane, 'twill be that.

Marrow lately met Colonel *Meldrum* with a regiment of *Redshanks*, which he had from *Lesly*, and gave him a sore reproof. The Parliament men from *Wem* surprized *Osistry*, which sends me to make a passage to *Worcester* through more unhallowed Countries than the *Alps*. All the comforts I have are, that *Arthur* has no pleasanter nor safer a journey into *Yorkshire*; and that the little squeaking Knight at *Dublin* is not freed from your heavy hand until I am safe at *Oxford*.

Here I met Mr. *Brent*, what he knows of the agreement with the agents he will deliver your Lordship at large. I find to my much trouble, that much is referred to you, and I fear of the most difficult. My Cousin *Brian Oncile* is to come with the main dispatch to your Lordship. I hope to overtake him before he be dispatched.

Prepare yourself to write eloquently, and to send

A.D. 1644 an exprefs: for the Queen is brought to bed and
 God be praised well, but the child dead.

Sir *John Mennes* with his patience, induftry and fooling has brought thefe countries to allow of him as their Governor: but as yet he has not a man, but two in the caſtle of *Carnarvon*, and four in this; which in ſober ſadneſs is a ſad ſtory. For let me aſſure your Lordſhip, that theſe two caſtles and towns are the ſtrongeſt places I ever ſaw in *England*, and not to be taken but by famine or treaſon. I have obliged Sir *John* to preſerve the government for any that you will ſend hither with men. I beſeech your Lordſhip to ſend *Perkins* with a 100 men, whatſoever ſhift you make. That for the preſent will ſecure them both from ſurprizal. *Mennes* complains much of the biſhop of *York*: I fear the prelate interpoſes too much.

Sir *Michael Erneley* is at liberty and at *Cheſter*. I hear nothing of poor *Warren*, or *Monk*. *Hull* though not neutral will not receive the Scots. If I have omitted any thing of what we have heard, *Arthur* will give your Lordſhip an account of it. I am

Your Lordſhip's

moſt humble Servant,

D. ONEILE.

Charles Garred is in *Haverfordweſt*: and gains much in thoſe parts.

Arthur Trevor Eſq; to the M. of Ormonde,

May it pleaſe your Excellency,

SINCE the ſealing of my laſt of the 29th of *June* to your Excellency, Sir *Lewis Dives* hath overtaken me at *Latham*, in his way to the Prince,
 from

from his Majesty, whom he left at *Buckingham* in *A.D. 1644* so active and strong a condition, that his Majesty was then marching towards *Dunstable*, and did resolve from *St. Albans* to summon *London*: and will expect the return of his Herald upon *Barnet Heath*. *Essex* is engaged in the West; *Waller* in the parts about *Glocester*; but with long and continual marches (as his use is) grown tame and contemptible. The King is imperially strong; and therefore makes this quick march towards the *Londoners*, when *Essex* and *Waller* their sword and buckler are abroad. If they draw out to fight the King, it will be fought pure Citizen to Cavalier without mixture. It is whispered that *Essex* is out of the town on purpose.

I find the business of the young Council at *Oxford* beginneth to frighten the party; as is legible by Sir *Lewis*, who certainly is the agent for that peace. But if I understand the question, I dare say the orator will be as unpleasing as the argument.

From our encounter with the Scots, if I do outlive it, I will instantly send away my boy to your Excellency with the History, Tragedy or Comedy, as it falls out in reading or action. God preserve your Excellency.

Your Excellency's

Latham, July 1,
1644.

most obedient Servant

in all humble duty,

A. TREVOR.

Arthur Trevor to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellence,

I MADE three addresses by letters to your Excellence by the way of *Beaumaris*, where I have prepared *Arthur White* with the best instructions

AD. 1644 tions I could give him for the quickening of dispatches in their motions to your Excellence's hands. Since I undertook the pursuit of the Prince, I have still been in the enemies country and out of all roads. To give your Excellence the short account I shall at present make to you, I could not meet the Prince until the battle was joined, and in the fire, smoke and confusion of that day, I knew not for my soul whither to incline. The runaways on both sides were so many, so breathless, so speechless, and so full of fears, that I should not have taken them for men, but by their motion which still served them very well; not a man of them being able to give me the least hope where the Prince was to be found; both armies being mingled, both horse and foot; no side keeping their own posts.

In this horrible distraction did I coast the country; here meeting with a shoal of Scots crying out *Weyes us, we are all undone*; and so full of lamentation and mourning, as if their day of doom had overtaken them, and from which they knew not whither to fly: and anon I met with a ragged troop reduced to four and a Cornet; by and by with a little foot officer without hat, band, sword, or indeed any thing but feet and so much tongue as would serve to enquire the way to the next garrisons, which (to say the truth) were well filled with the stragglers on both sides within a few hours, though they lay distant from the place of the fight 20 or 30 miles. This, my Lord, was the first entertainment, when I had once passed the garrison at *Skipton* castle. I shall now give your Excellence the short of the action, which I beseech you receive, but as a preparative to a more full relation, which shall come to your hands so soon as we are cold and can temper ourselves to look particularly into our losses, and receive the certainty of the prejudice done the enemy by our army.

Upon

Upon *Tuesday* the last of *June* (as I take it) the ^{A.D. 1644} armies faced one another upon *Hessam-Moore*, three miles from *York*, about 12 of the clock, and there continued within the play of the enemies cannon until five at night; during all which time the Prince and the Marquess of *Newcastle* were playing the orators to the soldiers in *York*, (being in a raging mutiny in the town for their pay) to draw them forth to join with the Prince's foot; which was at last effected, but with much unwillingness. The enemy perceiving the advance of that addition to the Prince's army, instantly charged our horse, and mingled instantly with very great execution on both sides. On the left wing the enemy had the better of us, and on the right wing, where the Prince charged, we had infinitely the better of the enemy; so that in truth the battle was very doubtful, as in the number of the slain as well as the success of the day, had not the night interposed and made a cessation of arms, and given the foot on both sides opportunity to shift for themselves, leaving the horse on both parts naked. The first light discovered this diminution of the foot on both hands, and begot, as if by consent, a retreat, leaving the dead to bury the dead. The Prince drew into *York*, and from thence to *Middleham*, where now his Highness is with 8000 horse and 5000 foot, and the Scots to *Hull*; *Kimbolton* to *Lincoln*, and *Fairfax* the father and son to *Bradford* and the West-riding of *Yorkshire* to recruit. This, my Lord, is what can be punctually said of this encounter; each side being retired with a broken wing and gone to the bone-setter.

The horse of P. *Rupert* and Lord *Byron* were totally routed; all their cannon taken: the Marquess of *Newcastle* and his Governor *King* fled unto *Scarborough*, and some say unto *France*; P. *Rupert's* forces of foot destroyed; yet he keeps the field with 5000 horse and 2000 foot, but will shortly march

A.D. 1644 march for *Chester*. The fault is laid wholly upon the M. of *Newcastle*. The rebels are still near *York*, but weak; what this may work is doubted. [*This Paragraph is in Cypher.*]

In this battle the young Lord *Cary* was slain, and Sir *Charles Lucas*, with some inferior Officers, and amongst them Capt. *Langley*. Col. *Tyllyer* is taken prisoner, and Col. *Broughton* hurt. *George Porter* is slain and some *Yorkshire* Gentlemen: and amongst them Sir *Will. Wentworth* the late Earl of *Strafford's* brother, Sir *Tho. Metham* and three of the *Middletons*.

My Lord, I beseech your Excellence to pardon the disorder and unhandfomeness of this dispatch. Within a few days I will send away my man to wait upon your Excellence with letters at large of all affairs, as well those of the publick as your own; which I am confident you will not be offended that your Excellence receives not an account from

Your Excellence's

Middleham, July
10, 1644.

most obliged Servant

in all faith and duty for ever,

A. TREVOR.

I have seen divers letters that his Majesty hath given *Waller* a total defeat near *Banbury*.

Daniel Oneile to Arthur Trevor Esq;

Dear Arthur,

IF Mr. *Goodwyn* had not satisfied me he came without your knowledge, I should have thought you had drunk of the same cup with *Will. Legg*: but I am cleared in that point.

Of our affairs here, that you may not be so ignorant as we are of yours, know that the after barley
breaks

breaks of the King and Sir *William Waller*, the *A.D. 1644*
 Knight, either conscious of his own weakness, or
 out of malice to *Essex*, with much freedom gave
 leave to his Majesty to march hither without impe-
 diment. The morrow we join with Prince *Maurice*,
 and intend to imploy the rest of this summer in
Essex-catching, as the Cockneys did the begin-
 ning in King-catching. *Waller*, and *Brown* the fa-
 mous wood-monger, stay at *Oxford*: what their
 hopes are I cannot tell. I am sure the town wants
 nothing. This in brief is the design and state of
 these parts.

Our late misfortune in the North is made much
 more by the malice of some to the Prince, than ei-
 ther our enemies, or the effect of the thing make
 it. I am heartily glad Mr. *Goring* comes hither to
 clear all our doubts and fears. I beseech God send
 his Highness all his heart can wish him. I am sure
 he cannot have less fortune than most of these here
 deserve or wish. The reckoning (I am sure) is
 much inflamed by my Lord *Newcastle's* going. This
 ministers cause of much discourse: I am confident
 the Prince, that was so gallant and generous to go
 so far and through so many dangers to his relief,
 would not give him any real cause for his journey.
 I'll not write to his Highness of any of the affairs
 here, knowing that he has them from knowinger
 hands. If he please by himself or you to let me
 know, how I may be serviceable to him here, I
 hope I am not so unhappy, as that he believes not
 I shall with all cheerfulness and faithfulness obey his
 commands.

Now, Sir, let me tell you, that our friend the
 M. of *Ormonde* has a hard task put upon him: for
 'tis imposed upon him to end that there, which all
 the Council durst not look upon here: yet to effect
 it is so necessary, as I dare tell you, the King's and
 his own preservation and that kingdom's is in danger
 else,

A.D. 1644 *else.* From *Bristol* I have dispatched *Brian Oneile* with an answer to all those commands he gave me in charge. The King is very confident he will undertake this great burthen. I could heartily wish us both there, to give him what ease we could. O *Arthur*! the weight is heavy; yet he must not sink under it: therefore persuade him not from it.

I hope you have presented my *Harry* to the Prince, and have taken such pains with him, that he is by this in his old religion; without which I profess I shall not take much care of him.

I pray you send Mr. *Hawkins* the cook to me: I want him much. Desire my Lieutenant to send me an account of the regiment and my own troop. Present my humble service to Lord *Byron*, I would have writ to him, if Mr. *Goodwyn* had leisure to stay but for a few words. If by treaty or force we reduce *Essex* or confound him, I'll give you speedy notice of it, though it cost an express.

I am, &c.

Exon, July 26,
1644.

DANIEL ONEILE.

I hear what infinitely troubles me, which is that *Henry Worsnam* is killed. I am unwilling to believe what I so much detest.

Arthur Trevor to the M. of Ormonde,

May it please your Excellence,

I Presume by this time that the tide of business that broke in upon your Excellence from Court with Mr. *Smith* is over; and that you have some leisure and *liber angulus* for a servant to give your Excellence a month's mind of what hath happened since his last humble addresses to your Excellence.

The Northern horse commanded by Col. *Goring* are, upon some more apprehension than was necessary,

fary, come over hither; but in the heat of their ^{A.D. 1644} march are boiled to little or nothing. This departure and the ill-fortune that followed them to *Halefoordling*, the pass out of *Lancashire*, and where they had a very considerable loss, as likewise at the *Malpas*, where they were beat up by *Michael Jones* with some diminution, hath scattered them so into the mountains in *Wales*, that it will be in no power but that of the last trump to call them together again. The whole North is now in the power and tyranny of the enemy, except some few garrisons, which like monitors in schools observe faults only in the absence of the master. By the letters from those parts the castle-keepers express much courage herein, as in all things else that are matters of faith in the cause, *Scarborough* and the Governor excepted, who is much inclining to go to bed, until peace come home. *Newcastle* is in an ill condition, and without supply will be lost. *Carlisle* is in a very good condition, and much bettered in its condition by the having of *Sir Tho. Glemham* there. Some of the lesser houses in those parts are dissolved: others hold out well. *Sir Tho. Fairfax* is very dangerously wounded; his shoulder and arm being broken with a musket-shot from *Hymesley-castle*, in an attempt made upon it. The Scots are still before *Newcastle*: their number is not great, nor is their fame in arms terrible; the Scotch mystery being of late much revealed in those and other parts of this kingdom.

Many of the Northern Commanders of good account lie here of the hurts they received in that retreat; and amongst them *Sir Marmaduke Langdale*, a person of great courage and much prudence. The disorderly retreat, the disasters and the ill discipline used by the Northern horse when they were here, hath procured some scandal and much prejudice to his Majesty's affairs here,

A.D. 1644 where neutrality is epidemical: and since our misfortunes brought to us from *Lancashire*, we have had our dangers and are now almost in despair; *Liverpool* being beyond hope besieged, and this place so beset that we cannot go a mile out of doors; and to make us perfect in despair, yesterday all our munition being 35 barrells were taken from us near *Montgomery-castle*, which I hear is given up to the rebels by the Lord *Herbert*. *Par utriusque regni*. This is the truth of the case, which I am assured your Excellence will understand at once putting, and without a moot.

P. Rupert is still at *Bristol*: 2500 of the enemy's horse lie at *Bath* and stop the passage. In the West they are either very busy, or much unmindful of their friends at *Oxford*, who receive but little intelligence what is done there. For by Mr. Secretary's letter of the 27th last it appears, he had not heard from those parts since the 7th before. He writes of the taking of the Lord *Roberts*, *Skippon* the Serjeant-Major-General, Colonel *Aldrige* and 1000 prisoners taken, besides the slain upon the place. *Essex* is still in his hole at *Lestithiel*, expecting relief from *Waller*, who was in much disgrace at *London*: but he hath outlived that displeasure as well as the rest, and is thereupon by way of adoption, and according to the policy of all ancient States declared heir apparent to the Generalship, (if the other die without issue of his body lawfully begotten) the better to interest himself in the affections of the soldiery of that army; which certainly is no unnecessary work, if he intend the succession.

The King in all the armies that are now waiting upon *Essex* is 26000 horse and foot: and is resolved to make him draw out and fight, or to make him keep a very long lent where he is.

The P. Elector came over to *London*, and as he was fitting himself to go towards the King with the

old service of propositions, though by a new hand, *A.D. 1644* took a sickness and died; so that the Electorate is descended and come to *P. Rupert*. This by Mr. Secretary *Nicholas's* letters.

My Lord *Wilmot's* misfortune and disgrace are made known to your Excellence by Mr. *Smith*. He is now a prisoner in *Exeter*; but at so much liberty of the town, that many make no other exposition of that kindness, that they had rather have his room than company, yet are loth to bid him go. I hear, he hath had some intimation of a pass, but declines all things but a trial of his innocency, wherein he is very confident (as I hope in God he hath cause.) Your Excellence will herewith receive the proceeding concerning him hitherto; and thereby you will easily judge by the materials the trouble that was taken to make the collection; the most part of the charge being words (I presume) picked out of the tablecloth. Lord *Digby* is the great agent to incense the King. My Lord *Wilmot* undertakes to turn the tables upon him, so that the wager is laid head to head: and 'tis expected that so soon as the King shall finish his work in the West, the game will be played out. *Daniel Oneile* goeth his share in that hazard; for certainly the Lord *Digby* hath undone his credit with the King. In my former letters I gave your Excellence some touch of this matter: and truly I look upon *Daniel Oneile* as saved only out of want of leisure to dispose of him. *P. Rupert* and *Will. Legg* are his severe enemies; and so is *Ashburnham*.

As I was finishing this dispatch, Sir *William Manners* is come hither from the King: and upon sight tells me, that the King hath taken 7000 muskets, 2000 pikes, 500 firelocks, 400 new horse arms, 32 pieces of brass cannon, and 500 barrels of powder. *Essex* and the Lord *Roberts* are escaped

A.D. 1644 ed to the ships in a long-boat. The horse are chasing one another. *Waller* went out of *London* with 6000 foot some ten days since: but will certainly come too late.

My Lord *Macguire* and *Macmahon* escaped from the Tower upon *Sunday* was seven-night. They say that a thread and note were baked in a loaf of bread, which directed them where to find a rope for their deliverance. Little *Isaac* is in some trouble about it. They sawed a door of incredible thickness.

I send your Excellence Mr. *Butler's* business according to your commands. Almighty God preserve your Excellence in all your ways. This shall ever be the daily prayer of

Your Excellence's

Chester, Sept. 13.
1644.

most obedient Servant,

A. TREVOR.

Arthur Trevor Esq; to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please it your Excellency,

MY last Letter to your Excellency left the business before *Montgomery* in the balance: and this will inform your Lordship, that both parties being weighed we were found too light (of foot at least) for in plain *English* our men ran shamefully, when they had no cause of so great fear, but that we here are ordained to be the mocking stock of the War. The first charge was made by my brother upon all their horse, who killed Sir *William Fayrefaix* in the head of them and put them all in disorder. *Broughton* and *Washington* did as well with the foot. Sir *William Vaughan*
was

was the occasion of fighting the enemy in that ^{A.D. 1644} place: but as my Lord *Byron* tells me, contributed not much to the action. All the *Lancashire* horse ran without a blow struck; which disheartened the foot so infinitely, that being in disorder with the pursuit of the enemy they could not be persuaded to rally again: which the rebels did, and advanced, and made good the place, relieved the Castle, being the work they came for, and took some prisoners. Our party consisted of 1500 horse and 2000 foot, being the regiments of *Broughton*, *Tyllyers*, *Warren*, *Hunks*, *Erneley*, and the Prince of *Wales*, and are all taken. There are not 100 foot come off: and all their Officers which were not taken before, killed or taken. Col. *Broughton* was there shot and taken prisoner. But I hear Col. *Washington* is well. What horse was lost in the action were out of my brother's regiment, and not many; but amongst them his jewel *Bay Squire*, whose solemn mourner he now is. My Lord *Byron* is infinitely unfortunate, and hath now finished with your Excellency, that is to say, made an end of all your Lordship's army unto a man, without any the least service: and truly my Lord, people now begin to speak out and say, those forces were trifled away by my Lord *Byron*, who is here observed never to have prospered since his practice to supplant *Capel*, who is a prudent and a valiant person as the nation affords. I am only sorry that our good King is punished for the ill nature or conscience of his people.

This last night the enemy possessed themselves of *Berkett-house* in *Worrall*; wherein we had a small garrison for the securing of the passage from hence to *Liverpoole*, which will now be much more streightened than formerly, and I am afraid will not long hold out. By this your Excellency will soon make your own judgment of *Chester* and the

A.D. 1644 parts adjacent, being upon the matter at all hands besieged. We reckon upon no friend but the Marquess of *Ormonde*. *London* is so great an attractive, that we do despair of forces from the King.

The particular of *Plymouth* is now undertaken to be 30 pieces of cannon and the town. My Lord *Byron* hath just now fresh letters, that Prince *Maurice* hath for certain killed and taken 3000 horse of *Waller*s and the remainder of *Essex* his Army.

I set out to-morrow towards the West, so as your Excellency's commands will from hence forwards find me at Court with the Prince, who constantly commands me not to forget his service to your Excellency upon all occasions.

Good my Lord, if there be any thing wherein your favour may befriend Col. *Legg* governor of *Chester*, in his charge, I beseech your Excellency afford it to him, as to a person very seriously your great servant, that will never be damned for ingratitude.

This Gentleman Lieut. Col. *Napper* is now passing into your Excellency's power; and for him I shall humbly bespeak your favourable protection and countenance in what he shall attempt for his Majesty's service.

My Brother is now come to me, and presents his most humble service to your Excellence, and so does for ever


Chester, Sept. 23.
1644.

My Lord, &c.

A. TREVOR.

The Archbishop of Yorke to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

WHEN I heard last from your Excellency a-^{A.D. 1644}
 bout trading in corn and coals, before I 
 could get ships loaden for this latter commodity,
 a great Navy of the rebels were come to *Liverpool*:
 and so little supply could be sent in that kind.
 Corn from this harbour is gone out hitherto in great abundance;
 but if your Excellency do not provide for it from the Court it is not like to do so hereafter.
 The slierif of this county (one *Jones* of more boldness than wit) doing what he can to hinder corn to be carried thither, without a license from Lord *Byron*, (that is some skantling profit to himself) upon pretence the King's Proclamation for exportation to that kingdom should be determined; which is more than I know, and more (I am sure) than the King and Council intended when I came from *Oxford*. This *Jones* (as *Cbedle* heretofore) hath seized the last week upon a *Scotish* barke, which came to *Caernarvon* with salt, with a pass from your Excellency, imprisoned the poor men and sold their salt without consulting your Excellency; as will appear to you I conceive by their cries and supplications. And I fear me much this heady man (linked in faction with Sir *John Mennes*) will utterly destroy all trading in these parts; howbeit I do and will (as long as I am entrusted) keep this port free from their concussions.

Your Excellency's undeserved favour towards me puts me to this boldness and you to this trouble, that I presume to become a suiter to your Excellency in behalf of the bearer, Mr. *Malory*, who intends to

A.D. 1644 live in *Ireland*, is a kinsman of mine by the mother's side, and by the father's descended from an ancient and noble house of that name in *Yorkshire*, where I am no real but a nominal Bishop only. What favour or encouragement your Excellency shall vouchsafe to afford him, according to his parts and calling in the ministry, I shall account it as done to myself.

I had not been silent thus long, noble Lord, if I had any certainty at all of our informations, coined for the most part at *Shrewsbury* or *Chester*, for the meridian of this Country in a manner abandoned and deserted. And what I now write is but a mere conjecture at the truth, which cannot come to us but through the enemies command. The King (as your Excellency may also pick out of this * proclamation, which I have caused to be copied from a printed one) is inclining towards *London* at *Henley*; some say more, that he is not yet within 80 miles of that cursed City. His forces 20 days ago were 8000 foot and 3000 horse; besides 7000 left under *Grenville* and *John Digby* at the siege of *Plimouth*. Some say, his Majesty's army is since increased. His battle and conquest of *Waller* near *Bath* grew to be but a beating only of a quarter, and that is believed to be little or nothing. My conjecture is, that his Majesty intends *Surry* or *Sussex* for his winter quarters, (with a neutrality of *Kent*) and that they prepare with all the forces of the rebels, to oppose and hinder his vicinity; and that this proclamation is to amuse them, until his Majesty shall be himself either in those counties, or slip away suddenly to *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, countries unharrowed as yet, and not so armed for the rebels or disaffected, as we hope. *Oxfordshire* is eaten up, the City defaced by fire, and still infected with the plague.

* At *Chard* Sept. 30, 1644, declaring his desires of peace, &c.

The Prince our Governor is at *Bristol* or thereabouts, much discouraged with the bad success in *Yorkshire*, and the worse (for so it was) at *Montgomery*: yet if your Excellency will believe *Chester* news, he is coming down with 3000, and *Charles Gerrard* with 5000, &c. But if your Excellency will consult our fears, who see his regiment called away to go to his Highness, he is not in that forwardness to come to these parts, but is rather drawing towards his Majesty.

Of ourselves and neighbourhood I can write no good news. *Liverpool* remains fore besieged, and the Governor and I have made bold with your Excellency's pinnace and servant Capt. *Lloyd* to attempt the relieving thereof with victuals from *Beaumaris*. God Almighty speed him; for from *Chester* there is little hope. *Worrall* is all lost to the enemy, and plundered to the ground by Sir *W. Brereton*. *Middleton* (quietly possessed of *Montgomeryshire* by the help of Sir *John Pryse*) did enter *Ruthen* near *Denbigh* the 19th of this month at two of the clock, admitted into the town by *Trevor* and his horse who ran away; but *Sword* putting himself into the castle with some 80 men (the place being but in repairing) did beat him away with stones and shot, that upon two of the clock on *Monday*, he retired to *Wem*, and left 100 men slain behind him. Whether he will advance from thence into *Merionethshire*, or make once more for *Denbighshire*, is the dispute of your Excellency's servants in these parts.

In *Yorkshire* 5 or 6 castles who hold for the King, keep the country in reasonable good obedience: and *York* itself is very stubborn, as the rebels term it, i. e. affectionate to his Majesty, where Sir *Thomas Fairfax* is in recovering. The General *Lesley* with his Scots, having plundered *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*, is returned to the siege of *Newcastle*, as we hear; but his approaches are not near the town

A.D. 1644 as yet. *Chester* was set upon *Monday* last and the outworks entered, but regained again, 14 of the enemy killed, who are not retired far from the works. It is thought, that city is full of disaffected persons, and certain, that they do not love their present Governor; as it is also, that the enemy know too well, what little accord there is between *Legg* and the Prince's creatures, with that poor Lord, who commands, or should command in chief in those parts, a most worthy man, but unfortunately matched in his government. God Almighty bless your Excellency in all your endeavours; and I do and shall remain, &c.

Conway, Oct. 30,
1644.

J. EBOROC.

Lord Byron to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord,

I MUST by these give your Excellency a sad account of the loss of *Liverpool*, through the treachery of the common soldiers, who (not pressed with any other want but of loyalty and courage) most basely gave up both the town and their officers to the mercy of the rebels. I had furnished Capt. *Lloyd's* frigate with a new supply of victuals for the town, (which might have passed in despite of all their ships) but before the relief could come, they had set guards upon my brother and all the officers, and sent out two serjeants, one of mine, the other of my brother's regiment to make conditions with *Meldrum*: which were, to deliver up all their officers prisoners; themselves, either to take up arms for the rebels, or to be transported into *Ireland* for the service of the rebels there. Some few of them are since fallen into my hands, upon whom I have
done

done justice : and if any of them hereafter shall be ^{A.D 1644} taken by your Excellency's forces, I humbly desire they may be made examples of disloyalty and treachery ; and the rather, because they were all natives of *Ireland*, and therefore the more trusted here, as not so apt to be seduced as the people of this country. My brother *Robin* is now prisoner at *Manchester*, with some of his officers ; the rest being dispersed into other garrisons of the rebels : and I am so unfortunate, as at this time to have no exchange for him here. There is one *Weymes* a Scotchman who was General of the ordnance to *Waller*, now a prisoner at *Ludlow*, who I believe would exchange for my brother and his Lieutenant-Colonel Sir *Francis Butler*. I have written to Court about him : but what I shall say may perhaps be thought to proceed from the affection of a brother ; and therefore do humbly desire your Excellency would be pleased to urge this exchange in your next letters to Court ; which will infinitely add to those many obligations, your Excellence has already been pleased to put upon me and my family.

The news I lately sent your Excellence concerning *Waller's* defeat was nothing so ; yet coming from the rebels themselves, (though I had no express of it) I gave so much credit to the report, that I thought fit to acquaint your Excellence with it. This day I received a letter from Sir *Gilbert Gerrard* the Governor of *Worcester*, wherein he assures me, that 14 days ago the united forces of the rebels under the command of *Manchester*, *Waller*, and *Brown* the Woodmonger, to the number of 14900 horse and foot attempted the King's quarters at *Newbury*, where his Majesty was slightly intrenched with 8000 men, a great part of his army being sent for the relief of *Banbury*. The rebels took this advantage, and two days together assaulted the trenches ; but were beaten off with loss. The third day they made a

A.D. 1644 more desperate charge, and forced Prince *Maurice's* quarter and took five pieces of cannon: but Prince *Maurice* rallied his men again, and regained the works, but not the cannon. The King on the other side of the town was more prosperous, and not only beat off the rebels, but got three pieces of their cannon. The night parted them, and both sides thought they had the worst of it, and quitted the field; the King marching towards *Oxford*, and the rebels to *Reading*. Yet the loss was very unequal: on the King's side not above 150 slain, whereof of note, only Sir *W. St. Leger* killed, and the Earl of *Cleveland* taken prisoner, and the old General the Earl of *Brentford* slightly hurt in the head; on the rebels side at least 1000 left dead upon the place, and divers officers taken prisoners. Since the battle, it is evident the King had much the better of it; the rebels army being so shattered, that they are not yet able to stir, and the King now marching towards the associate Counties with the addition of 7000 horse and foot, which Prince *Rupert* hath since brought to him.

As for my part, I am left here to myself with a very few men and nothing but ill weather to help me. If the King thinks to reap any benefit by the Irish peace, I wish he would conclude it quickly, that we might have some timely assistance thence; for *Newcastle* and *Liverpool* being now lost, they intend to bring the Scots hither. I humbly beg your Excellence's pardon for troubling you with so tedious a letter, and rest ever

My Lord, &c.

Chester, Nov. 15,
1644.

JOHN BYRON.

News from his Majesty's Army in Scotland, to be presented to the most Honourable the Lord Lieutenant-General of Ireland; written at Inverlochy in Lochaber the 7th of February, 1644; by an Irish Officer in Alexander Macdonnell's Forces.

WHEN the Irish forces arrived in *Argyle's* *A.D. 1644* bounds in *Scotland*, our General-Major *Alexander Macdonnell* sent such of his Majesty's commissions and letters to those to whom they were directed; although for the present none was accepted on: which caused our General-Major and those forces to march into *Badenogh*, where they raised the country with them; and from thence to *Castle-Blair* in *Arthol*, where the Lord Marquess of *Montrose* came unto and joined them with some other small forces. From thence they marched to *St. Johnston*, where the enemy had gathered together 8000 foot and 800 horse with nine pieces of cannon; his Majesty's army not having so much as one horse: for that day the Marquess of *Montrose* went on foot himself with his target and pike; the Lord *Kilpint* commanding the bowmen, and our General-Major of the Irish forces commanding his 3 regiments. The armies being drawn up on both sides, they both advanced together, and although the battle continued for some space, we lost not one man on our side, yet still advanced, the enemy being 3 or 4 to one: howsoever God gave us the day; the enemy retreating with their backs towards us, that men might have walked upon the dead corps to the town, being two long miles from the place where the battle was pitched. The chase continued from 8 a clock in the morning till 9 at night: all their cannon, arms, munition, colours, drums, tents, baggage, in a word, none of themselves, nor baggage escaped our hands, but their horse, and such
of

A.D. 1644 of the foot as were taken prisoners within the city.
 This battle to God's glory and our Prince's good was fought the first day of *September*.

From thence we marched straight to *Aberdeen*, only surprizing such as withstood us, with little or no skirmishing till the 13th of the same month. At *Aberdeen* the Covenanters of the North had gathered themselves together to the number of 3000 foot and 500 horse, with 3 pieces of cannon. We had then about 80 horse. The battle being fairly pitched, it continued for a long space, and the enemy behaved themselves far better than they did at *St. Johnston*. Yet we lost not that day above four, but the enemy were altogether cut off, unless some few that hid themselves in the city. The riches of that town, and the riches they got before, hath made all our soldiers cavaliers. This battle being ended, only our manner of going down to battle, and how each one commanded I omit, till it be drawn and set down in a more ample manner; now tendering only a brevity of our proceedings; for if I should write the whole truth, all that hath been done by our army would be accounted most miraculous; which I protest I will but shew in the least manner I can, leaving the rest to the report of the enemy themselves.

After this battle we marched towards the Highlands again, so far as to *Castle-Blair*, where I was sent to *Ardamuragh*, with a party to relieve the castle of *Migary* and the castle of *Langhaline*; *Migary* castle having a leaguer about it, which was raised 2 or 3 days before I could come to them: at which time the Captain of *Clanranald* with all his men joined with *Clan Coo* men and others who had an inclination to his Majesty's service.

In the mean time, while I was interested upon those services, the M. of *Montrose* marched back to the Lowlands, almost the same way that he march-

ed before, till they came to a place called *Fivvy* in *A.D. 1644* the shire of *Aberdeen*; where *Argyle* with 16 troops of horse and 3000 foot marched up; and upon a very plain field *Argyle* was most shamefully beaten out of the field, and had it not been for his horse, they had suffered as deeply as the rest; so that there was not on our side any hurt done, but on their side they lost many of their best horse, and most of all their commanders hurt, and the Earl Marechal's brother killed. After the armies separated, the Lord Marquess marched again to *Castle-Blair* in *Athol*: where I met again with him and such of the Highlands as had joined with me. The day of *Fivvy* was on Oct. 28.

From *Castle-Blair* we marched to *Glanurghyes*, called *M^r Callin M^r Conaghy*, which lands we all burned, and preyed from thence to *Lares*, alias *Laufers*; and burned and preyed all his country from thence to *Agbenbracke's*, whose lands and country were burned and preyed; and so throughout all *Argyle*, we left neither house nor hold unburned, nor corn nor cattle, that belonged to the whole name of *Campbell*. Such of his Majesty's friends as lived near them joined with us. We then marched to *Loughaber*, where Mr. *A-Jane* came and joined with us, but had but few of his men with him. From thence we marched to *Glen-garry*, where the Lord of *Glengarry* joined with us. At this place we got intelligence, that *Argyle*, *Agbenbracke*, and the whole name of *Campbell*, with all their forces, and a great number of Lowlandmen with them, were come to *Inverloughy* in *Loughaber* following of us. This caused us to make a counter-march the nearest way over the mountains, till we came within musket-shot of the castle of *Inverloughy*; it then being night, so that the enemy stood to their arms all night, the sentries skirmishing together. By this place of *Inverloughy*, the sea comes close to it, and that night *Argyle* embarked himself
in

A.D. 1464 in his barge, and there lay till the next morning, sending his orders of discipline to *Agbenbracke* and the rest of the officers there, commanding the battle. Which on both sides being pitched and their cannon planted, the fight began; the enemy giving fire on us on both sides, both with cannon and muskets, to their little avail. For only two regiments of our army, playing with musket-shot, advanced till they recovered *Argyle's* standard, and took the standard-bearer: at which their whole army broke; which were so hotly pursued both with foot and horse, that little or none of the whole army escaped us, the officers being the first that were cut off. There *Agbenbracke* was killed, with 16 or 17 of the chief Lords of *Campbell*; their other Lowland commanders (only two Lieutenant-Colonels) all cut off; four others of the name of *Campbell* taken prisoners, as *Bearbrick*, the young Laird *Carrindel*, *Inverleeven* Capt. son of *Enistefinthe*, and divers others that got quarter, being men of quality. We lost but two or three that day. This was fought the second of *February*.

Arthur Trevor to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellence,

A.D. 1645 I Have made bold with your credit on this side the water, which I yet find very good, and am very confident will grow as you prosper in your peace, the Goddess of trade. The particulars of that charge you shall receive in a paper by itself. By this I beseech your Lordship know, that the Lords *Hopton* and *Capel* stand engaged with me that within three months your Lordship will please to order a satisfaction of this debt; the choice of the commodity being left to your own occasions in such furnishings as you shall at any time make upon

upon any desire of the Prince of *Wales*, or else in ^{A.D. 1645} money. If your first credit be precisely managed, I have set up free traffick for your Lordship without sureties: so much for the credit and the merchant. The commodity I do not doubt will speak for itself without an advocate. My Lord *Capel's* kindness towards your Lordship in this and all things else which may concern your Lordship where he is, will merit a letter from you: wherein I beseech your Lordship let him see the way you intend to hold in the satisfaction of this vast sum, for the procuring whereof the King's eldest son, all the Court and many of your servants were but enough.

The Prince of *Wales* is now here, beginning to form an army; whereof there is very good hopes, the small differences between the Gentlemen of these parts being for the most material point of the supreme command well appeased. [Here will be no great good done, the enemy being so powerful and the Gentlemen of the country so divided, that it is of equal difficulty to vanquish the one, as to compose the other. The Prince is invited into *Wales*, but forbears to go; fearing to give Prince *Rupert* impediment in his levies. Such is the jealousy of great Princes; tho' the house be on fire.] And he that made ceremony to avoid the curse of the ungirthed and unblest, staid to put on his girdle, was not able to put out the fire when he came. If some course tending that way be not held, and that very speedily, [all will be naught: for at *Bristol* he may not stay; his diet already failing] absolutely.

My Lord *Goring* is near *Blandford*, and with him Sir *Richard Grenville*; both making a smart army of old soldiers. *Waller*, and his new Colleague *Cromwell*, were yesterday at the *Devizes* for some fresh horse and plunder, and are now marched towards my Lord *Goring*, with whom they had many bickerings this spring, but now they resolve to play

but

A.D. 1645 but one rubbers up for the West. But if they lose this game they so confidently reckon upon, they have not another army in *England* nearer than the North; the new army intended for *Fairfax* being not yet cleared in all the solemnities belonging to a song of so many parts and religions. *Effex* his army is laid aside, or at best to be cast again; the crack it received in the West, making it altogether unserviceable to the Church. This was done by vote; the Lords being ten to ten, my Lord of *Effex* to turn the scale, pulled out my Lord of *St. Alban's* proxy, which by a special counter-plea of the old religion, and a new vote, my Lord *Say* avoided: and to make the odd trick sure and his own, he produced a proxy of the Earl of *Arundel's*, and so got a new army. And these discomposed iron-huggers (*Effex's* men) have now cantonized themselves, and do make *Croydon* the seat of supreme justice in point of appeal; whilst like the lineal sons of *Robert Hood*, *Cade* and *Tyler*, they issue their Proclamations to the oppressed to come and demand justice before them in their supreme Council. The Earl himself is retired to the lodge in *Eltham* park, where he will sit and see the Scots scene played, which is now ready to begin: but a secret trick may find him out there, and bring him upon the stage again to his cost. [We after our wonted manner have been tampering with them, but too late.]

The Earl of *Manchester* is become the owl of this Commonwealth, wherein every bird hath a peck at him; and if he escape with the loss of his feathers only, his condition will be very much above the expectation of his friends. He is set out upon the Faulconer's stall, to let the people see there's such a creature and of no use, or else the better to set off their new high-flying hawk of the North. I again hear of the retirement of the Earl of *Effex* with his commission, for which he disputes as eagerly as
 Marechal

Mareschal *Byron* did for his head: and happily it ^{A.D. 1645} may equally concern him, as tending to the same point, though by different lines. If again he come into play after this recess, I am confident he will repent him therein, as much as his father did his coming again into the world, from whence he retired into his castle of *Tenby* in *Pembrokeshire*. They that profess themselves to be merchants of news speak confidently of some troubles in *London*: but I presume it is no more than you will meet in the change of the tenant and removal of the lumber, which must make some noise in a small tenement.

The Scots at *London* are very active, especially in drawing money from the people for the cause: and are not yet unprosperous in their sermons to their auditors at *Guildhall*. So long as they are successful in their arms, the argument of fortune will please, though from an ill orator. They handle a dangerous instrument, that play upon the people's purse-strings, and must undertake, as the King of *China* doth at his inauguration, that it shall not rain during his government.

The proceedings of the Marquess of *Montrose* is received here with good credit and much joy; and the rather, because we understand they at *London* are much amated with it. Some letters to the Scots Commissioners from *Argyle* and his fellows of the close Committee of *Scotland* to a very dismal tune, unless they were instantly relieved, by the withdrawing of some of their forces both out of *England* and *Ireland*, were intercepted by the *Newark* forces and sent up to his Majesty to *Oxon*. This may be but a Scottish policy used for the better insurance of their money; a preparative to stir the humour before the purge be administered. There are some that think there is something of truth in it. Where I cannot believe the best, I naturally wish the worst. The want of horse makes that work very subject to inquisition.

A.D. 1645

His Majesty is still at *Oxon*, where his stay will be very requisite, until that garrison be in a condition to defend itself, and the train of artillery in an equipage to take the field in attending upon his Majesty. The injuries contracted by the long marches and often encounters of the last summer, together with the negligence of the officers of that charge in their care of their horses, carriages, and their appendents, are not to be repaired without more expence of time and treasure, than the King's affairs will well permit in the present point of his business. So soon as the train is ready to move, [Prince *Rupert* will draw unto the King, and then Northward; if in the West they can subsist without their army.

At *Oxon* we are at great faction: the Marquess of *Hertford* and all the rest against Lord *Digby* and *Cottington*. It was occasioned by some interruption given to the renewing of the Treaty: and I believe that P. *Rupert* is in with the M. of *Hertford*; and so is Mr. *Albournham*, and *Southampton* are all in all. The Lord *Percy* is in *France*: *Sussex* at *London*; both by the King's leave.] The Queen is treated in *France* according to her state and dignity, and is lately removed from *Paris* to take the waters at *Bourbon*, where she intended to make no long stay; her health serving her very well before she took her journey. [It is said, we shall have 10000 French very soon here, under the command of the Duke of *Espenon*. For certain, supplies of arms and powder are prepared for us, and will be here with the first opportunity:] The rest I leave to the courteous reader.

[The Lord *Herbert* with many of his religious great philosophers of faith are gone into *Ireland*. I know not what affections he may have, religion being in design: but I am very doubtful, he hath none to the M. of *Ormonde*, nor others that eat often with the M. of *Ormonde*.]

Dr.

Dr. Price that was taken with Sir *H. Tichburne* and *A.D. 1645* the rest is escaped, and tells me of some letters written from *Oxford* [by *Brian O Neile* and others to some of the Irish party, very prejudicial to the peace and M. of *Ormonde*.] I shall forbear in this the particulars, being assured by Dr. Price, that the copies of them are by the endeavours of Sir *H. Tichburne* transmitted to your Excellence. I beseech your Lordship look well about you in a business of so vast importance, having [to do with men that love not your person. Yet I believe good use may be made of Lord *Herbert*, as the M. of *Ormonde* may treat him. He certainly loves the King, as much as any man of his religion now do, and will not think himself ill entertained to have the opportunity given him of making the inventory of his doing for the King.

Daniel O Neile is here: the occasion men take to dispute it, having no employment upon the place is much. Some say, he is a spy upon the new Council here; others that he hath prudently withdrawn himself, foreseeing the quarrel against Lord *Digby*: I believe nothing, but the want of money, which is very great. The Lord *Hopton*] is very much at your Lordship's devotion, and certainly a person of exceeding much nobleness. I beseech you take an occasion to let him see you are sensible of his readiness to serve you. My Lord *Capel* and Mr. Attorney-General (who is yet at *Oxon*) are persons you may rely upon in a very strict assurance of their good affections to you upon all occasions.

Now, my Lord, give me leave to give your Lordship an account of our war. My Lord *Goring* and *Waller* are chasing one another in the West. *P. Rupert* and *P. Maurice* are towards *Brereton*, *Mytton* and *Middleton*, who are now recruited with 2000 Scots. Hitherto we have the better of this new year, and have no fear of continuing our suc-

A.D. 1645 cesses, unless the new Armado they are providing at *London* strike a peg into the wheel of our fortune. My Lord *Goring* upon *Saturday* last defeated 600 of *Waller's* horse, and doth keep him waking by daily skirmishes: and certainly, if his hand hold in for a fling or two more at him, he will return home with little comfort from his Lenter circuit into the West. Sir *Hardress Waller* commanded the party of his cousin's horse that were so defeated at *Wincanton* in *Somersetshire*, and had much ado to get off himself with two horse; so absolute was the beating.

Colonel *Blage* from *Wallingford* beat into *Uxbridge* with 60 horse, and 30 Dragoons: and there took all *Aldrige's* troop of horse and arms to the number of 54 brave horse. *Aldrige* escaped through the gardens on foot. Sir *John Boyes* spoiled near 500 foot that were marching by his castle of *Dennington* into the West: and my Lord *Northampton* defeated a convoy passing from *Gloucester* towards *London* with cloaths and plate to a very great value: which added to a former brush of that kind, will make the enemy look about him, and put *Banbury*-castle in a good condition to entertain the young illuminated warrior Mr. *Fiennes* this next summer, if he think good to come and fetch his guns he left there the last. P. *Rupert* came hither late yesternight, but stays not long. His army is quartered in the parts about *Hereford*, where the late insurrection was, and shall continue there, until they give him 800 men armed for their contempt. His army is in a very good condition, and he is hopeful to increase it much; for he hath presses for 1400 men out at this time.

I hear much of [Lord *Herbert's*] commission: as I hear it [the M. of *Ormonde*] is not taken notice of in it. If it be so, I beseech you get a copy of it. [Danil O Neile] told me, he was to pass into [Ireland]

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

83

land] upon very important affairs: but that resolution is now over. I cannot imagine what this matter of weight should be, unless it was to have a share in that commission; to which I am induced, because that fiddling fellow [of his name] was, and went into [*Ireland* with Lord *Herbert*,] and the rest of the philosophers of faith. A.D. 1645

My ever honoured Lord, pardon me for the trouble of this long letter in the tide of all your business, and forgive the sin of it against your Excellence and the Commonwealth to,

My Lord,

Your Excellence's most humbly

Bristol, April 9,
1645.

devoted and obedient Servant,

A. TREVOR.

Arthur Trevor to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord,

I Am in great pain, until I hear of the safe arrival of your servant Mr. *Goodfellow* with your Lordship's cloaths and other necessaries. Your Lordship's cousin *Butler* is much displeased, and told Sir *Robert Poyntz* (to whom he deeply bemoaned himself) that he only expected a good hand, and would have sent your Lordship's apparel by the Bishop of *Killala* but that he is a Bishop, and by Sir *Al. Hamilton*, but he (as he conceives) is a Jesuit. I did therefore take the boldness to apply to his tender conscience the middle way, the confessor of our new reformation, the Captain of the main guard with some of his novices. If herein I have erred towards your Lordship, I most humbly

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beg

A.D. 1645 beg your pardon; but as having wrought a good cure upon your cousin, I think my self not courted in your thanks.

I beseech your Lordship be mindful of your letter to my Lord *Capel*, who is very much your Lordship's servant; and withall be pleased to consider of my condition, who am sure to be whipt if there be any fault at all. Firelocks will do well, if that furnishment may consist with your other provisions of that kind for *P. Rupert*, who thinks he hath a strong engagement upon your Lordship for 2 or 300 of them. Powder will not be amiss, nor indeed any thing that is moneyworth. But if I am not secured, I shall be forced, tho' with much unwillingness, to acquaint a young Prince with a main piece of his privilege and of his Peers, for which we now fight amongst the bundle of the just privileges of Parliament, that always his and their sureties are obliged to pay his and their debts. So much for jealousy and fears. Now, my Lord, give me leave to present you with a short view of our state on this side the water and at this degree of the sun in *May*.

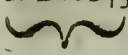
Windebank, that some time served my Lord *Straford*, was intrusted with the keeping of *Bletchington-house* within four miles of *Oxon*, which he delivered up so basely that since he is for his cowardice shot at *Oxford*, which was so (upon the matter) besieged by the taking of that House and the encouragement that *Cromwell's* horse took thereby to come every minute to the ports of the town, that *P. Rupert* was forced to march from *Worcester* with a considerable body of horse, and my Lord *Goring* with his horse out of the West to fetch off the King and his artillery, which was lodged there this winter for want of shoes.

The new General *Sir T. Fairfax* is advanced to *Newbery* in his way to the relief of *Taunton*, (as we imagine

imagine by some intercepted letters of his.) The Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice* are joined to my Lord *Goring*, and wait upon him with 6000 old horse, and 9000 foot, for the most part all old likewise. *Fairfax* is not near that number; which makes me fear he will not advance. However the King's army is resolved for the greater solemnity of his first adventure in his new dignity and triumph to wait upon him home. *Taunton* is strictly besieged and ready to be now entered on all hands: and if they should have no succours within three days, we shall certainly have it, and with it all the West except two or three small things which they reckon no otherwise than so many kernes and single thieves. The governor of the place was yesterday slain by the breaking of a gun to which he was giving fire: and that we hope will hasten a parley, for with him, we conceive, the malice of the place died. His name was *Blake*, a renegado from us.


The people in *Kent* and *Sussex* are very much given to dispute with their masters taxes, and speak high and do some small matters. Mr. *Fretzwell*, who is again come to his old master the King, says the like of them in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* [whither the King and P. *Rupert* intend to march so soon as this action is over.] And truly, my Lord, I do nothing doubt of God's blessing upon his Majesty's armies raised and maintained like *Cadmus's* foldiers by wonders, and as I hope will deserve the name of the army that does wonders better than they at *Westminster* the name of the Parliament that does so.

We have now before *Taunton* 6000 foot, and the country are raising 8000 foot, and 2000 more for the guard of the Prince, which will be ready in ten days, and indeed are for the most part up already. P. *Rupert* hath presses out for 14000

A.D. 1645 foot, and marches now effectually 12000 horse and
 foot.

General *Gerrard* is now very successful in his Welsh war, and very powerful in his army. He hath upon the matter ended the war of this summer in those parts; for he hath taken *Haverford West* their chief town, forced the enemy to burn *Cardigan-Castle* and run away by the light of their own fire, and hath since beaten the enemy in a pitched field, taken and killed 1300, and amongst them 400 *Irish* that were of Col. *Willoughby's* regiment, and those that by agreement at *Duncannon* were sent over to *Milford*. Since that defeat he hath taken *Piñon-Castle* and *Carry Castle*: and indeed left the enemy no more footing in that country than they have by *Pembroke-Castle* and *Tenby*. All this had the solemnity of bells and bonfires here yesterday. Col. *Gerrard* hath sent earnestly to this city of *Bristol* to invite the merchants to undertake the keeping of *Milford-Haven*, which he promises by Saturday next to put into their quiet possession. This done, he will be able to draw a very considerable force with him after the King into the main land: but I presume he will be instantly directed [to relieve *Chester* at present in no good condition. Lord *Byron* is governor of *Chester*] but what to say hopefully to your Lordship in that difficulty I am puzzled. Truly I hope the King's business is immortal but in that heel, and if we stand upright in that *salva res est*. We see them that contemned the King at the treaty and would be his school-masters, and teach him the arts of empire and almost call him King of *Oxon*, as the *French* called their 7th *Charles* King of *Bourges*, not able to bring so many men so soon into the field, having their malice and his and their revenue to support and set out their rebellion.

[*P. Rupert* and Mr. *Goring* are reconciled, and

I hope that jealousy is pulled up by the root. The *A.D. 1645*
Lord *Digby* is as I left him upon my last letters. 
Lord *Hopton* hath so much favoured neutrals that
I do not find either party pleased. If this devil
of commission were cast out of us we shall certainly
do very well.

Here is good store of munition come from *France* :]
and much more is expected very speedily. They
that come from [*France*] say, they are not well
pleased they are not more courted into the King's
business: and I hope it is forborne out of good
judgment that we shall do our work without the
French. The hand that hurt and I hope will serve
to make the cure, and the same knife that made
the wound spread the plaister for it.

I have a great desire that [the M. of *Ormonde*]
should be [an Earl of *England*.] *Notingham* [is
now void ;] and if I hear nothing from the M. of
Ormonde, I shall adventure that blame amongst the
rest, and indeed do prefer it before that of Duke
which is intended.

My ever dearest and best Lord, I have now by
leaps passed over this little commonwealth, and
hope, tho' it be platonick now, the next sight
will represent to your Lordship a state of this
country that may please you.

I am this minute taking horse for the army,
from whence your Lordship shall by all hands
hear that I am serving your Lordship, and if I die,
praying for your Excellence, your excellent Lady
and hopeful issue: and this is the last will, and if
not the daily exercise of — my most gracious Lord,

Your Excellency's

Bristol, May 8,
1645.

most obliged Servant in all Duty,

A.D. 1645

Arthur Trevor to the M. of Ormonde.

My ever most honoured Lord,

I Am infinitely afflicted with the ill news, that Mr. *Goodfellow* hath not yet found his way to your Lordship with your provisions and necessaries of apparel; especially in a time that requires both state and entertainment. If he be lost, with him are perished 4 tun of *French* wine, and 9 butts of sacke, as good as ever came into *Bristol*, the staple of that commodity, your Lordship's apparel (which Mr. *Butler* hath had all this time on his hands) some store of linnen for my Lady and her woman Mrs. *Wheeler*. But truly, my Lord, above all (except the wine) I am troubled at the share my sweet young Lords will have in the shipwreck by the loss of their bravery for this summer. I shall expect a second messenger before I despair of him and his adventure: and if then I do not find better tidings, I will begin his elegy and my farewell to merchandize.

I left the West in a good condition, *Taunton* in the greatest part of it burnt: but I believe our men were faine to draw off our foot from thence, before they had effected what they had in design there, because Sir *T. Fairfax* with his new army was drawing upon them, and my Lord *Goring* not then returned with his horse to join with them. That army does consist of 4000 excellent horse, and 6000 foot, besides the levies of the counties of *Somerset*, *Devon*, and *Cornwall*; which at an interview of the P. of *Wales* with the Gentlemen of those counties at *Bridgewater* upon the 27th of *April*, were agreed to be 8000 armed foot, and 1500 foot and 500 horse for his Highness's guards. Of the latter I can thus far assure your Lordship, that before I

came

came away from *Bristol*, 1200 foot of the guards ^{A.D. 1645} well armed were come thither, and 300 horse: and a rendezvous by the desire of the countries appointed for the great body of foot to appear and march.

His Majesty hath here an excellent army of old soldiers, and is effectively 10000 horse and foot; and of them, few that are not able to advise and fight. There are 1500 new men ready in *Wales*; and Col. *Gerrard* having ended his field work for this summer in *Pembrokeshire*, (where he hath taken in all the country except *Pembroke-Castle* and *Tenby*) will be able to march to the King with 700 horse and 2000 foot. From *Newarke* we have great assurances of lusty aids, and have some reason to hope well of the northern men, if our march fall out that way. This is the state of our armies, which have now taken the field in all parts; leaving all his Majesty's garrisons in good heart and well provided of all necessaries.

Montgomery-Castle, which was commanded by Sir *John Pryse*, is now declared for his Majesty; and so is *Red-Castle*, the back-doors into *South-Wales*. Sir *William Vaughan* is marched thither to receive them both. If this succeed, certainly, my Lord, the King's condition is very happy; for hereby all *Wales*, which is the nursery of the King's infantry, will be again entirely in the King's obedience, except those crows nests in *Pembrokeshire*, and Col. *Gerrard* at liberty to march stronger abroad, and be secure at home.

Sir *John Pennington* is dead, and Sir *John Mennes* appointed his successor in the charge of the navy; and Sir *Richard Cave* is to succeed him in his employment in *Wales*, a dry and hot country where *English* governors seldom fail to get fevers and troubles, and nothing else. Truly, if he undertake it, he is either not well advised, or desperate of himself. I shall settle the way of your Lord-

A.D. 1645 ship's affairs with him before he enter into his small kingdom, where I suspect his reign will be troublesome and short. It is observed of that people, *they love not a stranger longer than he can tell them news.*

His Highness P. *Rupert* is master of the horse to his Majesty in the place of Duke *Hamilton*, who is still in *Pendennis-Castle*. [All is governed by P. *Rupert* who grows a great courtier; but whether his power be not supported by the present occasion, is a question to be asked a conjurer. Certainly the Lord *Digby* loves him not. Mr. *Goring* and P. *Rupert* are now friends; but I doubt the building, being made of green wood which is apt to warp and yield. All the hope we have here is grounded upon the success of *Scotland*, and of supply from *Ireland*. If they fail, especially the last, we shall do nothing. Our foot run from us very fast. Munition from *France* we have received some, but not much; and I fear that a quarrel between Lord *Fermin* and *Crofts*, and whereupon they have fought, will stay those supplies. *Irish* titles go off daily, as if some great rot had befallen the Peers of *Ireland*. They are now become meat for the foot] those of *England* serving higher suitors.

Received May 25,
1645.

Your Lordship's, &c.

A. TREVOR.

What is between the crochets [] is in cypher.

Lord Digby to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord,

THE most unfortunate surrender of *Bristol*, and thereupon the insurrection in *Glamorgan-shire*, and the rebels sending at the same time into *Wales* a great body of horse and dragoons under the

the command of *Poyntz*, having forced us to quit ^{A.D. 1645} all the fair hopes of settling *South-Wales*, and raising an army there, to think of preserving the King's person and that body of horse which was with him; his Majesty designed his retreat from *Hereford* to *Worcester*, *Poyntz* lying then about *Weobley*. But the enemy getting intelligence of our motion that way, by a sudden march in the night got betwixt us and *Worcester*, and so necessitated us to march directly to *Weobley*, whence they drew, and so continuing our march in the night, we cast them too far behind us for them to hope to overtake us; and so came on Monday to *Chirck-Castle*, and had from

the north

thence in all probability got by to n3. 49. 44.
 within reach of
 65. 80. 38. p5. e5. 64. 1. 15. 11. 39. k1.
Montrose,

25. 46. 50. 80. 65. 47. 57. 2. 82. had we not been interrupted by the unlucky surprize or betraying at the same time of the outworks and suburbs of *Chester*; insomuch as that the rebels pursuing their advantage, had already rais'd batteries and made a very fair breach in the wall of *Chester*; and upon Monday night given a fierce assault, tho' beaten off with great courage of the townsmen and loss to themselves; yet were likely in few days to carry that place unless relieved by his Majesty. Whereupon his Majesty drew in person with his guards, and General *Gerrard's* troop in the town of *Chester*, and sent three brigades of horse over at *Holt*, to get betwixt the rebels and their retreat to their next garrison of *Taruin*. The rebels in the suburbs being about 1500 foot, and 500 horse, upon intelligence of our approach drew off their cannon, and were preparing to march away; when on the sudden they drew their cannon back again, and shewed that they were resolved to maintain the post

A.D. 1645 post which they had gotten; which we conjectured either to be despair of their retreat, our horse being got between, or that they had intelligence of approaching relief: the latter of which proved to be true, for that night Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* got intelligence, that *Poyntz* was come with all his horse to *Whit-Church*, and advanc'd all night too so fast upon him, that in the morning our horse found themselves engag'd. But we had so good success in the first encounter, that our men took three colours of horse, and Col. *Greaves* prisoner, and set a stop upon their further advance, till it seems 1000 foot coming to them in the nick of time from the *Lancashire* side, they again press'd upon us so fast, that our horse not being able to retreat to *Chester*, there to join with our other forces, they were fain to charge; which Sir *William Vaughan's* and Gen. *Gerrard's* brigades, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale's* troop of reformadoes did successfully enough, till the reserve of northern horse, (just as they did at *Naseby*) took a fright before any enemy was near them, and ran. Whereupon all our horse were put in great disorder and forc'd to disperse; some retreating towards *Holt*, others towards *Chester*. Whilst this was doing upon *Rowter's-Heath*, two miles and a half from *Chester*, our part there was to look to the forces of the suburbs, and to fall in their rear, in case any of them drew out towards the battle; which the Earl of *Lichfield* with the King's guards and General *Gerrard* with his troop did most gallantly, routing and beating them back into their works, at the same time that well nigh the whole body of *Poyntz's* horse in pursuit of ours that retreated towards *Chester*, came down upon them; against whom notwithstanding those noble Lords were so brave and successful, that they totally routed all those great bodies, and drove many of them into and under their works, and dispers'd the rest;

rest; infomuch as we cannot make any judgment *A.D. 1645* whose was the victory. But upon calculation of our horse already drawn together, we find our loss to have been very little, save only in that most excellent person the Earl of *Lichfield*, such a loss as a victory would scarce repair. Some Gentlemen and Officers of Quality are yet missing, as Mr. *Thomas Weston*, Sir *Philip Musgrave*, Sir *Henry Fletcher*, and some others; but we hope they are either strayed in the night, or at worst taken prisoners.


The next morning, which was yesterday, the 25th instant, most of his Majesty's horse being retreated over *Holt Bridge*, his Majesty thought fit to recollect them on the Welsh side, and to that purpose came the last night hither to *Denbigh*, where there is to be this day a general rendezvous. We do not hear that the rebels have recovered themselves as yet into any considerable body, nor which way they move; and consequently I am not able to tell you, what his Majesty intends next to do; only thus much will certainly be necessary, that we secure and keep open the Welsh side for the relief of *Chester*; which will be no hard matter, we having all the passes, betwixt *Chester* and *Oswestree*. The townsmen of *Chester*, having upon Tuesday received in 500 Welshmen well armed, are very hearty and resolved to hold it out to the last man, notwithstanding the loss of their out-line and suburbs, and that they find their wall so batterable. The truth on't is, it was a miracle to see so great and so easy a breach, and in a place (where there was no room for cutting of within) so defended: but now they have well repair'd it, they profess to scorn the enemies force as long as the Welsh side shall be kept open to supply them with provision; which I make no doubt but we shall be able to do.

Before this action, letters came to *Chester* out of *Lancashire*, that great forces were come from the

A.D. 1645 the Marquess of *Montrose*, as far as *Perith* in *West-*
moreland, under the command of the Earl of *Crauf-*
ford and the Lord *Ogleby*, and that there having
faced *David Lesley's* horse, 1000 of them revolted
from him, and charged their fellows with the Lord
Ogleby; whereupon *David Lesley* was routed, and
forced to retire with what remain'd to the borders
of *Lancashire*. We do not as yet build upon the
certainty of this, but we are much confirmed in
it by the confession of a Committee man newly
taken, who acknowledges *Montrose's* forces so far
advanced, and that they have fought with *David*
Lesley, tho' he do not confess the victory. Whe-
ther this be true or no, I think every faithful ser-
vant of his Majesty that considers rightly the
condition of the
12. 44. 49. 5. 31. 80. 30. 45. 50. ki. n3.
King's *English* forces and those of
241. 57. 160. 181. 21. 79. 38. 44. 57. 2. ki.
Scotland under *Montrose*
379. 74. 48. 5. 3. 64. 25. 47. 50. 78. 66. 45.
that kingdom so entire
58. 4. 81. 241. 5. 44. 243. 59. 46. 3. on. 80.
the King's person
30. 65. 1. will with n3. 241. 58. 34. 2. 66. 59.
with them: how to get
44. 49. p5. n3. 24. but 39. 45. 54. n1. 18. 1.
there with security
80. n3. n3. 64. p5. 60. 4. 13. 76. 66. 31. 78.
there is the difficulty;
69. n3. 65. 1. fi. n3. 5. 30. 8. 9. 32. 11. 77.
28. 79. 68. 82. and I am not able as yet to tell
it, and shall
you more than that we desire f2. 21. 58. 38. 16.
endeavour it,
27. 29. 1. 50. 6. 4. 17. 76. 65. f2. if we can
effecting
see through any probable way of 2. 9. 10. 3. 12.

it,

made A.D. 1645

8. 30. 50. 18. f2. as soon as we shall have 25. 15. 
the settlements

7. 3. n3. necessary 59. 2. 79. 28. 1. 26. 3. 49.
here for the security

78. e3. 3. c4. n3. 57. 2. 11. 77. 64. 32. 80.
of Chester.

70. k1. 418. If his Majesty can once see his person secure from being thus daily hazarded and chaced about, I see no reason why we should be at all dismay'd with our many late misfortunes here, since no man can think *England* divided, (though the major part against the King) able to resist *Scotland* and *Ireland* entire for him, with any considerable party here; resting

Your Excellency's

Denbigh, Sept. 26.
1645.

most faithful humble Servant,

G. DIGBY.

Since the writing of this, we receive assurance, that the rebels were much more broken than we, and retreated northward, and that my Lord of *Crauford* is advanc'd as far as *Kendall* with a brave army.

Lord Byron to the M. of Ormonde,

My Lord,

Captain *Bartlett's* return without any letter from your Excellency, or any hopes of relief, will inforce me likewise to alter my resolution: the Archbishop of *York*, with all the Gentry of *Carnarvonshire*,

A.D. 1646 *vonshire*, none excepted, having called in *Middle-*
ton and joined with him in the beleaguering of this
town, which abounds in nothing but the want of
all things necessary; so that unless within these ten
days, (in which time I expect to hear likewise from
the King who is beleaguered by *Fairfax* in *Oxford*,)
if a force be not sent to relieve this place, it must
be delivered up. A small force would do it at this
time, and they may have the whole country for
their pains, being all now in rebellion. Captain
Bradshaw, whom I sent along with Capt. *Bartlett*,
is a skillful pilot and knows all the coast. I hum-
bly beseech your Excellency, either let the relief
be sent at the time limited by me, which is ten
days after the date hereof, or a positive answer
what I am to trust to. Three thousand good men
will be as many as I shall require.

Your Excellency's

Carnarvon, May,

6, 1646.

most humble and most obliged Servant,

JOHN BYRON.

Sir Richard Grenville's Narrative of the pro-
ceedings of his Majesty's affairs in the West
of England, since the defeat of the Earl of
Essex at Lestwithiel in Cornwall, A. D.
1645.

IN September 1645, it pleased his Majesty to give
a commission to *Sir R. Grenville* to command
all the forces of *Cornwall* and *Devon*, to blockade
the town of *Plimouth*, and also to resist and suppress
all rebellious persons within those Counties. And
in

in the said month his Majesty marched away from *Plimouth* with all his forces, leaving Sir R. *Grenville* behind him, with only 300 foot and no horse to blockeer *Plimouth*, which had then in it about 5000 foot and horse. A.D. 1645

It so pleased God that in a short time Sir R. *Grenville* increased his forces to the number of above 5000 foot and 1000 horse, and did so necessitate the *Plimouth* forces by a strict blockeeing, that the enemies horse were almost all starved and lost; and their foot grown almost to desperation, in such sort that if the said army had then been suffered to remain but two months longer before that town, very probably *Plimouth* had been thereby reduced into obedience to his Majesty.

In *February* then following, Sir R. *Grenville* was advertised by several persons of good quality, that his prosperity before *Plimouth* seemed troublesome to Sir *John Berkeley* and others at *Exeter* *; and that it was then there given out, that Sir *J. Berkeley* endeavoured by powerful friends to procure Sir R. *Grenville* to be removed from before *Plimouth* to some pretended greater employment Eastward. And so it happened: for in *March* then following Sir R. G. was commanded by his Majesty upon his allegiance to march into *Somersetshire* with all the forces he could get, leaving *Plimouth* well blocked; which was performed accordingly.

Afterwards Sir R. G. (having besieged *Taunton* and attempting to take in *Wellington-house*) was there shot: and then were his forces there by the Lord *Capel* and the Lord *Colepepper* (without his Highness's order or privity) committed to the charge

* *Quære*, if *Phil. Froude*, Deputy-Governor of *Exon*, were not employed thence to *Oxford*, to procure thence a mandatory letter for Sir R. G. to march into *Somersetshire*; and if he then brought not a Commission for Sir *John Berkeley* to be Colonel-General of *Devon* and *Cornwall*.

A.D. 1645 of Sir *J. Berkeley*, who immediately released all the prisoners taken by Sir *R. G.*: one whereof was Dr. *Blague* (brother to the Governor of *Taunton*) who afterwards proved a most pernicious instrument in the delivering up of *Bridgewater*.

Upon the resolution of raising an associated army taken at *Bridgewater*, divers of the Lords of his Highness's Council coming to *Exon*, repaired to Sir *R. G.* to consult with him about it: and in the close of their discourse, they offered Sir *R. G.* the chief command of that army under the Prince, and promised to send him his commission within a few days. This inclined Sir *R. G.* to quit his command before *Plimouth*. But the aforesaid commission was never sent; which was none of the weakest reasons why that associated army was not raised.

Sir *R. G.* being almost cured of his wounds, and desirous to advance his Majesty's service in all he could, sent forth his orders into certain parts of *Devon* and *Cornwall* for the taking up and bringing together his runaway soldiers, and also to levy others. But Sir *J. Berkeley* wrote to the *Cornish* Commissioners a letter dated *May* 26, then following, declaring his own power over them and the country as Colonel-General, and commanding them not to obey any of Sir *R. G.*'s orders. The like did Sir *J. Berkeley* to those in *Devon* and before *Plimouth*; which was brought to Sir *R. Grenville* under Sir *J. Berkeley*'s own hand, and by him presented to the Lords of his Highness's Council at *Barnstable*.

In *June* 1645, Sir *R. G.* made his first journey to present his duty to the Prince, with his humble desires to the Lords, that he might be re-established in the command of those men he had formerly levied. Their answer was, he should have a command worthy of him in his Highness's associated army: and in conclusion so ordered affairs, that Sir *J. Berkeley* had committed to his charge all Sir *R. G.*'s forces before

before *Plimouth*, and also all the contribution of *A.D. 1645*
Cornwall and *Devon* formerly assigned to Sir R. G. was now wholly taken away out of his power: and then was he sent to attend the Lord *Goring's* pleasure before *Taunton*, whose desire it was afterwards, that Sir R. G. should possess *Aurtie St. Mary*, to block *Lyme* on that side with all the forces he could get, which then were near 100 horse and 100 foot; all the rest of his forces being kept away by the Lord *Goring*, and before *Plimouth* by Sir *J. Berkeley*.

About this time Sir R. G. was very much importuned by many of the Gentry and inhabitants of *Devon*, to give them leave to procure and keep arms upon their own charges to defend themselves there-with against the *Lyme* forces and free plunderers: which Sir R. G. then made known to the Lord *Powlet*, Sir *Peter Balle*, and others the Commissioners of *Exon*, who then approved of the same; and a meeting was thereupon appointed at *Broad-Clyst* to speak with the country thereabouts concerning the same. About which time Sir *J. Berkeley* sent his commands to Mr. *John Duke* (who dwells about *Aurtie*) that neither he, nor any other, should obey any orders from Sir R. *Grenville*, but observe only his orders, being their Colonel-General. By which means Sir R. *Grenville* being denied the privilege (as Sheriff) to preserve the peace and welfare of the county, the country was discouraged and the hopes of those forces lost.

About the same time, the Prince by his letters commanded Sir R. *Grenville* to use his endeavours by all possible means to get together all the runaway soldiers in *Devon* and *Cornwall*: which was by him endeavoured accordingly. And for that purpose were employed by him some parties of horse, to take up the soldiers then in *Cornwall*: which so much disliked some ill-affected persons of that county, whose power was so operative, that they procur-

A.D. 1645 ed a metting of the Gentry well-affected, and by their cunning insinuations drew those to join with them in publishing a Declaration in writing under their hands throughout the county, that if Sir R. G. or any other should come to take up men in that county without the consent and approbation of the Commissioners of the same, that they ought and would raise the power of the county to resist it. By which means above 3000 old soldiers were kept at home from his Majesty's service; and this (together with Sir J. Berkeley's commands as aforesaid) being certified by Sir R. G. to the Lords at *Barnstable*, had no order of reformation.

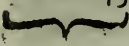
In the same month of *June*, Sir R. G. was desired by many of the Gentry of *Devon* (as Sheriff) to command a general meeting of all the inhabitants of *Devon* at *Crediton*, i. e. 4 or 5 of the chief of every parish, to advise of speedy means to raise a powerful army in the county for the defence and security of the same against the enemy: which day of meeting was accordingly appointed by Sir R. Grenville. But afterwards his Highness commanded Sir R. G. by an order in writing, that he failed not at his peril speedily on sight thereof to attend his Highness's pleasure in *Cornwall*. In obedience whereunto he repaired to his Highness in *Cornwall*, desiring some of the Commissioners of *Devon* to favour so much their own welfare, as to meet the inhabitants of *Devon* at *Crediton*; (which was then to be the next day following) and to make known to them the Prince's command of Sir R. Grenville's then absence; and therefore that they would advise and resolve (with those chiefs of the county) on effectual and good means of raising speedily all the forces that might be procured for the defence of the county, the enemy being then on the borders thereof.

Some of the Commissioners met at *Crediton* accordingly, and found there present above 5000 of the

the chief inhabitants of that county; whose propo-^{A.D. 1644} sitions were, that if they might have Sir *R. Grenville* for their Commander, and that none of their arms should be taken again from them, nor they carried out of their county without their own consents, that they would generally provide themselves of arms and munition upon their own charges towards the defence of their county against the enemy; and that such as would not join with them in the same courses, should be taken and dealt with as enemies. But the Commissioners denying them leave to choose their own Commander, and by words giving the country great distaste, made them to depart very much discontented, and the hopeful meeting to raise a great army became desperately lost: which hastened the ruin of the West.

At the same time Sir *R. G.* attending his Highness and the Lords at *Bodmin*, he was there sharply reproved for presuming to give out orders to raise men and arms without first receiving orders from his Highness for the same; saying also that Sir *R. G.* had not power to raise the *posse* or forces of the county without the Justices of the same, although he was then Sheriff thereof: and withal admonished him, that for the future he might not presume, without his Highness's positive orders, to give out any more such warrants for raising of forces; although the same was not unknown to their Lordships beforehand; for Sir *R. G.* divers days before that meeting, by letters represented the intent and consequence thereof unto their Lordships.

After all aforesaid, and in obedience to his Highness's commands, Sir *R. G.* endeavoured to raise what forces he could in *Devon*, and having gotten together about 500 horse, and quartered them about *Autrie*, *Bishop's-Clyst*, and those parts Eastward of *Exon*, Sir *R. G.* sent warrants to the hundreds of the East parts of *Devon*, to bring in certain num-

A.D. 1645  bers of serviceable men for the recruiting of the Lord *Goring's* army; and accordingly employed some horse to assist the constables therein. That service was not performed: The reason was informed by Sir *James Smith*; it being, that certain Commissioners at *Exon* discouraged such as endeavoured the service, saying it mattered not, whether they appeared or not upon Sir *R. G.*'s warrants; and that Sir *J. Berkeley* and Sir *George Parry* both said to Sir *James Smith*, Sir *R. G.* had no power to raise men in those parts; for Sir *J. Berkeley* was Colonel-General of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, and he ought to order the doing thereof, and none else. Then did the Commissioners, together with Sir *J. Berkeley*, endeavour by the power of their warrants to raise men, but could get none.

Hereby appears, that to hold up the title of Colonel-General, the King endangered the losing of his possession of the West, by wholly taking, (as is aforesaid) from Sir *R. G.* the power of commanding the forces he had raised, and the means of maintaining any, as also the power to raise others: neither hath the Colonel-General either raised forces himself, or (with a great number under his charge raised by others) done any service upon the enemy for the advantage of the city or country where he is.

The 26th of *November* 1645, the Lords of his Highness's Council then at *Truro*, importuned Sir *R. G.* to propound unto them some speedy course for the preservation of the Prince's person, and so much of the country as was then in his possession. Which Sir *R. G.* did the next day, directing it by way of letter to Mr. *Fanshawe* the Prince's Secretary at War. Which letter, because it hath occasioned a strange rumour in the world, (as if Sir *R. G.* went about to set up the Prince against the King) a copy of the same letter is here faithfully inserted *verbatim*.

S I R,

“ U P O N conference with the Lords of his ^{A.D. 1645}
 “ Highness’s Council the last night, their
 “ Lordships were pleased to lay their commands up-
 “ on me, that (in this time of extremity) I should
 “ propose what course I conceived might best be ta-
 “ ken for the advancement of his Majesty’s service,
 “ the safety of his Highness’s person, the perserva-
 “ tion of this county, and the maintenance and aug-
 “ mentation of the Western forces. Sir, the
 “ thought of this hath much perplexed me: many
 “ things have offered themselves to my imagina-
 “ tion, which further consideration rejected.

“ It is to be considered, that the enemy is in all
 “ parts of this kingdom very prevalent, and his
 “ Majesty’s forces as much lessened and disheart-
 “ ned: our late losses have brought us nigh des-
 “ pair, and we may too truly say, his Majesty hath
 “ no entire county in obedience, but poor little
 “ *Cornwall*, and that too in a sad condition by the
 “ miserable accidents of war, under which it hath
 “ long groaned. The country is impoverished by
 “ the obstruction of all trade, and in my opinion,
 “ it is not to be hoped, that *Cornwall*, with our
 “ ruined county of *Devon*, can any long time sub-
 “ sist and maintain the vast number of men that
 “ are requisite to oppose the enemies army, in case
 “ they advance upon us.

“ Sir, what we wish is not in our power to act.
 “ It rests then that we lay hold on the occasion, that
 “ offers the fairest face. And who knows but some
 “ overture well managed may by God’s blessing in
 “ a short time produce a long’d for peace to this
 “ languishing kingdom. To effect which I shall
 “ make it the offer of my sense, that his Highness,
 “ by the advice of the Lord’s in Council, may send

A.D. 1645 “ propositions to the two Houses of Parliament in
 “ *London* to have a treaty, wherein articles propo-
 “ sed by their Lordships tending to some such ef-
 “ fect as these following may be discussed, viz. 1.
 “ That his Highness hath not been at all reflected
 “ on in the proceedings of Parliament, nor ever had
 “ an hand in the bloodshed of this war. 2. That
 “ a great part of his Highness’s present maintenance
 “ is his Dutchy of *Cornwall*, where he now re-
 “ mains. 3. That his Highness may assure the Parlia-
 “ ment not to advance with an army further East-
 “ ward than the towns and places of *Devon* now
 “ within his power. 4. That the Parliament give
 “ the like assurance to his Highness, not to molest
 “ or disturb the country now within his Highness’s
 “ power, with incursions of armies, or otherwise.
 “ 5. That the parts and places now within his
 “ Highness’s power be permitted to enjoy a free
 “ trade unto and from the parts beyond the seas,
 “ without disturbance at sea of any shipping within
 “ the power of the Parliament. 6. That the ship-
 “ ping under his Highness’s power do permit the
 “ parts and places now in the power of the Parlia-
 “ ment, to enjoy the like free trade and traffick with-
 “ out their molestation at sea. 7. That such part
 “ of the profits of his Highness’s estate as lies in
 “ *Wales* or elsewhere may be paid unto him, as the
 “ same shall from time to time become due. 8.
 “ That upon breach of any article made by any
 “ particular person, the party injured is to appeal
 “ for relief, which either parties are to give with-
 “ out molestation of the articles.
 “ Sir, These particulars are such as the short-
 “ ness of my time hath given me leave to think on;
 “ and I shall desire you, they may be presented to
 “ the Lords of his Highness’s Council, to be sup-
 “ pressed or altered, as to their Lordships shall
 “ seem fit and most likely to conduce to the honour

“ of his Majesty, the safety of his Highness’s per- *A.D. 1645*
“ son, and the preservation of the country from ab-
“ solute destruction. And I must advertise you,
“ Sir, and desire you to inform their Lordships,
“ that in my opinion, such a treaty will much tend
“ to the speedy putting of an end to the wasting di-
“ visions of this kingdom. And for the present, if these
“ or the like articles be agreed on, his Highness’s
“ person will be secured, his revenues twice tre-
“ bled, trading revived, and the country enriched.
“ Besides, in such a vacancy of troubles here, it
“ may please God to open a way for restoring his
“ Majesty to his rights; and we shall be enabled to
“ fortify our frontiers, ports and towns, and to
“ provide necessaries to defend ourselves against the
“ worst of fortune,

“ And if his Highness will be pleased to commit
“ the managing of his forces and all things thereto
“ appertaining unto the care of some fitting man
“ with a competent power, his army of foot within
“ a short time may well be raised to the number of
“ 10000, and maintained without the country’s
“ ruin, and both them and the horse brought into
“ due obedience, which want of government hath
“ made almost unserviceable. And in case the
“ proposed way of treating produce not its desired
“ success, yet the whole county seeing his High-
“ ness’s sincere endeavours and desires for peace,
“ and that his Highness’s labour tends only to the
“ preservation of these parts from utter ruin and
“ destruction; I am most confident, that upon a
“ general meeting of the chief Gentry of this coun-
“ try (which I desire you to beseech his Highness
“ may be speedily appointed) the whole body of
“ this country, then finding how far the preserva-
“ tion of their persons and estates are concerned,
“ will unanimously join in the defence thereof, and
“ (with God’s blessing on our endeavours therein)

A.D. 1645 “ I doubt not but we shall be able to defend this
 “ county against the greatest force our enemies
 “ can pour upon us. To conclude, I shall make
 “ it my suit unto you, that you will become my
 “ advocate humbly to intreat his Highness, and
 “ the Lords, that what I have written may receive
 “ no misconstruction, and that my meaning, which
 “ is to advance the honour and service of his Ma-
 “ jesty and his Highness, and the preservation of
 “ the country, may not be perverted, but be plain-
 “ ly interpreted, as it is honestly intended by,


S I R,

Truro, Nov. 29,
 1645.

your affectionate Servant,


R. GRENVILLE.

Not long after this, the enemy being possessed of the greatest part of *Devon*, and likely to advance westward of *Exon*, Sir R. G. proposed and desired, that the Lords would be pleased to have the affairs so ordered for the apparent security of so much of the western parts as then remained in the possession of his Majesty's loyal subjects; that 3 particular places in *Devon* should be speedily possessed with a convenient strength of horse and foot, viz. *Newton-Busshel*, *Okehampton* and *Chimley*; and those quarters to be fortified; and a line of communication to be made extending from the one place to the other: which very well and speedily might have been performed, as set down in the said propositions (ready still to be produced) if accordingly endeavoured. And by it might not only have been kept and maintained all that then was in the King's possession westward of *Exon*; but also probably the western forces might with the more advantage be both enabled to fight with and expulse the enemy out

out of the county: but the design, together with *A.D. 1645* the propositions, were slighted and nothing done. 

The 15th of Jan. 1645, Sir R. Grenville received orders in writing from the Prince to be Lieutenant-General of the foot under the command of the Lord *Hopton*: which being a condition inferior to his late former command, and a command under one not very well affected to him, he desired it might not be imposed on him, alledging his great disability of body to perform such a charge occasioned by his late wounds, and believing he should be more serviceable to the Prince's affairs, if he were employed in recruiting the army, and guarding the passes of *Cornwall*: which he earnestly desired of the Prince at that time; having given his judgment and opinion, that the army was in no condition then to march out of the county. Upon this Sir R. G. was committed close prisoner to the Governor of *Launceston* the 19th of January. The next day he was cashiered from a regiment of horse, a regiment of foot, a single horse troop, and a company of firelocks (mounted and armed at his own charges the greatest part of them); all which were then disposed of to others commands in the market-place at *Launceston*, without the censure of a court of war; and then a warrant was signed for carrying him to *Barnstable*, at that time blockeered by the enemy. But afterwards by the Prince's command and warrant, Sir R. G. was sent to the *Mount* in *Cornwall* with a Corporal and ten Troopers, and from thence to be conveyed speedily to the Islands of *Scilly*, to be there kept a close prisoner. The truth is, Sir R. G. was informed by some of good quality and credit, that there was a design to put him out of all command, some weeks before that; only it should be managed so, that himself should give the occasion, and make the refusal.

After

A.D. 1645 After Sir R. G.'s commitment, the officers and  soldiers of the army, to the number of 4000, presented a petition to the Prince; that Sir R. G. might speedily be brought to his trial before a court of war, there to receive the justice that belongs to a soldier, or else to be restored to his former commands. The petition was refused: whereupon many of the soldiers disbanded and went to their own homes. Sir R. G. likewise petitioned the Prince, that he might speedily account for any crime he had been guilty of, or else to have leave to depart the kingdom for his own safety and preservation. Whereunto this answer was returned by the Lords, That his crime was against the King and his service, and therefore his Majesty should be first acquainted therewith; and then Sir R. G. should know his answer.

Upon the advance of the enemy nigh the heart of *Cornwall*, Sir R. G. sent another petition to the Prince for leave to depart the kingdom, and that his services might find out some other reward, than the delivering him up into the hands of that enemy, from whence he had no reason to expect the least degree of mercy: which at last was granted and ordered to be sent to him; but it was after the Prince with his Lords were gone from *Pendennis* towards *Scilly*.

Whilst Sir R. G. was prisoner in the *Mount*, he employed certain of his servants to remove such goods as he had then in *Cornwall* into some place of safety. Some of which goods, being nigh *Pennryn*, were on their removal made stay of; his trunks broke open and searched, where finding nothing questionable, they were afterwards dismissed. The other part of his goods being embarked at *Padstow*, had a more severe fortune; for General *Hopton* without any order from his Highness, sent an officer of his to survey the goods, and he compelled all to be again brought on land: and then he with his associates

ciates broke open every trunk, chest, pack and box ^{A.D. 1645} locked; forcing the servants away from the sight of their actions. And then every man took to himself what he found pleasing, and also invited others of the army to share of what was left: and shortly afterwards the enemy drove them thence, and took all the remainder of goods of very great value.

This is the short and the sad History both of the West, and of Sir R. Grenville, who was once thought and found to be an useful instrument in the King's service, and might have proved so still, had not some of the Lords of his Highness's Council made it their wisdom to chace him out of all employment in the King's service.

Lord Hopton's Relation of the Proceedings in the West of England, presented to the Prince at the Sorlings, April 13, 1646.

May it please your Highness,

THE date of my late unhappy employment ^{A.D. 1646} begins with your Highness's order at *Launceston* of the 15th of *January* last, which was after we had lost the hope of joining foot out of *Exeter* and *Dartmouth*; and indeed after the loss of *Dartmouth* itself, there remaining of foot, of the guards about 240, General *Digby's* broken regiment about 500, the *Cornish* regiments that were under Sir *Richard Grenville* between 5 and 600, Colonel *Slaughter's* and Col. *Wise's* regiments about 400. The train-bands of *Cornwall* shrunk to nothing in effect, there remaining with me only Sir *Chichester Wrey*, Col. *Richard Arundel*, and Col. *Jonathan Trelawney* with about 150 men between the three; and these were all the foot I had; and how full of necessities, complaints, and all sorts of distempers

A.D. 1646 pers they were, cannot be out of memory. For the horse, there were your Highness's guards (near upon 800) (a very handsome body of men, and very exact upon duty :) then there were the horse under my Lord *Wentworth*, which we accounted about 2500; amongst them were divers gallant men, but in the general I cannot say they were exact upon duty, which was indeed one great cause of our misfortune, being thereby never able to surprize or attempt upon the enemy, but ever liable to be surprized by them; and of this I often told the General Officers, but could not in that short time better regulate it, the enemy advancing so quick upon me. As for the third part of an army, artillery; of that I had none, nor as much as carriages to carry our small proportion of ammunition, materials and provisions; so as we were enforced to stay at * *Launceston* till *Friday* the 6th of *February* last, in daily expectations of carriages from the Sheriff and Commissioners of that county. And then your Highness and your Council thinking it necessary that the conclusion should be tried, (tho' upon all these great disadvantages) we moved to *Stratton* with scarce half of our ammunition, materials or provisions; hoping that our advance would facilitate that business in the country, so that the rest would come speedily after us. But that hope failing, the like opinion of the Sheriff and Gentlemen of *Cornwall* that the country would supply us willingly, being march'd out of it, carried us to *Torrington* the 10th of the same month; where finding the quarter somewhat commodious, and hoping in a short time to fasten it, I resolved to stay till the rest of the provisions, ammunition and materials were come up: and so I divided the circumferences of the

* During my stay at *Launceston*, I sent a party with a good considerable relief to *Dunstar-Castle*, commanded by Col. *Finch*, who performed it very well.

town as equally as I could amongst the foot both to ^{A.D. 1646} guard and fasten; wherein they wrought but slowly, most of the materials not being come up, necessities and division having bred a general unweildiness amongst them, both officer and soldier. The horse in the mean time I disposed to out-guards, to the best advantage for the defence of all our quarters and for intelligence. But all the labour was lost through the general disorder of the horse, that never kept their hour upon rendezvous in any tolerable proportion, nor sent their numbers commanded to the guards, nor for the most part stayed with their officers upon duty; your Highness's guards of horse not being then with us, but lodged something back for the necessity of quarters: so as indeed I was so far from being able to attempt any thing upon the enemy with the horse, that I do not remember any one guard that ever they justified, while I had to do with them: which for the present to redress by punishment I could not, the disorder being so general and the enemy pressing so near.

The 14th of this month, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* with the main of his strength, being 6000 foot, 3500 horse, and 500 dragoons, (as I am since fully informed) advanced to *Chimley*, and the quarters thereabout within eight miles of *Torrington*: whereof by chance a young Lieutenant and eight Troopers, being gone out that way without leave a plundering, brought me intelligence, having casually fallen upon a Lieutenant of his Pioneers fast by his head quarter, else he might have been upon us the next day without any notice, notwithstanding I had by a constant settled order all that week a horse guard at *Burrington*, which was within two miles of *Chimley*. Upon this intelligence, I sent forth orders to draw the horse to *Torrington-Common* upon the north side of the town, and drew in

A.D 1644 in the guards that should have been at *Burrington* to *Rowborrowe* three miles nearer to me, where I had 500 horse in guard, leaving the dragoons I had at *Stevenston-House*, which was a mile nearer to me, and upon entrance of the enclosures, to favour the retreat of the horse, if they should be prest.

Sunday the 15th of this month, I had notice of their advance, and by misfortune I lost Lieutenant Col. *Dundas*, who was out with a party of a 100 horse that way, and being charged by a party of 500 of their horse, after a very gallant defence was sore hurt and taken. And the next day, understanding still of their advance, I sent out Major General *Webb* with 200 horse to our guards to give me a more perfect account of the motion and countenance of the enemy, and when he should see it necessary to draw off the guards with him, which he performed very gallantly, entertaining continual skirmishes with the enemy till he came within a mile of *Torrington*, where with the assistance of 300 musketeers that I sent out to him, he held the enemy up till night, and then I called them all in. Here it may be demanded, why knowing their power so much superior, I did not retreat. First, to draw that body of horse and foot into *Cornwall* ('twas easily foreseen) was utterly ruinous, the country not being able to maintain them, and so narrow as we were sure to be shut up. 2dly, I had order to fight with the enemy, tho' upon disadvantage, rather than not to hold him up; it being the resolved opinion of us all that were of his Highness's Council, that we had little to hope but in the event of a battle: and this being the case, I thought myself very happy to be attempted in that quarter, where I had some sort of covert for my foot, and opportunity to make good use of my horse. So I commanded all the foot to their several posts, both officers and soldiers, part upon the line, and the rest

rest in reserve in convenient places. I likewise com-^{A.D. 1645}
manded 200 horse into the town, which I distribu-
ted into parties of 40 to countenance the foot fight-
ing upon the line; and being in this order it dis-
pleased me not at all that the enemy gave on, which
he did that Monday night about 7 of the clock;
about which time I with some of the General Officers
of the horse got on horseback, and placed the se-
veral parties of horse as before mentioned.

About 8 of the clock that night, the Major Ge-
neral and myself in the street on horseback, and
riding to visit the several posts, the enemy got
entrance at the barricades the upper end of the street
where we were, and beat off the foot: and our party
of horse that I had sent to support them ran away and
fell down upon us, where the enemy being drawn
up in a body in the street, and the Major General's
horse being killed under him, I was there left with
only Captain *Harper* and one of my servants en-
gaged; but I thank God, got off with little hurt,
besides the loss of my horse which brought me off
to my lodging door, and there fell down dead,
Captain *Harper* being shot in the head but not
slain. Then those horse, that I had drawn into
the town to support us, running away through the
town, brought a confusion and disorder in the
whole: and the foot in every quarter quitted their
posts, saving those of your Highness's foot guards
that were upon the castle-green, which must have
that right done them, that they defended their post
even after the town was lost. Myself got as soon
as I could another horse, though ill accoutred, and
rid to the rendezvous of horse at the town's end, and
there commanded my own Lieutenant-Col. *Bovile*,
with about 30 horse, and Lieutenant-Col. *Marsh*
with my Lord of *Cleveland's* brigade, being about
5 or 600 horse, to draw up and charge into the
town; my Lieutenant-Col. to go on first as the

A.D. 1644 forlorn hope. At the same instant there came to us about 300 of our musketeers that were fled over the line out of the town, whom I commanded to join with them; but the foot presently ran away. Some of the horse charged to the upper barricades which the enemy had possess'd, but having no foot could go no farther, which was a great misfortune; for at the same instant that they charged, our ammunition, being 50 barrels of powder, was blown up in the Church, and their whole force that was drawn into the town was in great fright and confusion. By this time the foot were all run away, saving some few that were taken; so that there remained nothing but to make the retreat with the horse: which I did, dividing them into two parts, and drawing them two several ways for the more advantage of order and expedition over those narrow passes. So upon Tuesday morning the 6th of that month, I brought the horse safe to the borders of *Cornwall*, having then no other way in my power. For whereas it might be thought that I had opportunity that night at *Torrington* to have broken eastward with the horse, it is evident we could not: neither was it unconsidered upon the place. But we found that our horse had stood two days and nights in the field without relief, and the enemy's horse were before us all drawn up within two miles without want. At *Stratton* I stayed till Thursday the 9th of that month; in which time some of my foot to the number of 1000 or 1200 came in to me, the rest being run home; and the most part of the horse came in thither likewise, except those that had run in to the enemy, or willfully stragling had lost themselves. In that time likewise I got a reasonable proportion of ammunition and provisions from *Launceston*.

Here the Cornish Officers importuned me to draw farther West with the foot, alledging that else
 those

those that were left would forsake them. Where-^{AD. 1644}
upon I made my rendezvous at *Efford* that Thursday, and leaving the Major General with a party ordered to be 1200 horse upon the frontier about *Stratton*, to take advantage of the enemy, as his quarters should grow near him, I retreated to *Carmelford*. But here likewise all orders proved fruitless; for the Major General's party proved not to be above 600 horse; and tho' himself be a very gallant person, both for courage, conduct and trust, and never failed of his part, yet the Officers and Soldiers with him so far failed, as the enemy forced his guards, and upon the 24th of this month put him to a retreat, which he very well performed with the few men he had. Hereupon the enemy entering the country and turning towards *Launceston*, and the foot Officers with me being very impatient of their quarters, I sent orders to Sir *Tho. Bassett* to draw off the horse and foot left with him about *Launceston* and the borders of *Cornwall* to *Lestwithiell*. His horse were about 500 under the command of Sir *James Smith*; the foot were two trainband regiments, that of Sir *Charles Trevanion's* which came off but wasted every day, and that of Col. *Edgcomb's* which never came off, but rendred themselves to the enemy. Myself with the rest of the foot drew to *Bodmin*, being a very unsecure foot quarter, for it is an open town in a champion country; yet I was enforced to choose it, for it was the only place in that part that could cover my foot, and the open country served very well for the advantage of my horse, which I lodged as near about me as I could, and commanded 400 horse to be every night in guard upon *Cardinham-down* about three miles from *Bodmin*, which with a by guard or two that I had likewise set out, might safely secure my quarters, and give early intelligence of the enemy's motions.

A.D. 1645

The 21st of this month, while we were at *Camelford*, Sir *Dudly Wyatt* came to us out of *France*, and gave us as great and as strong an assurance as might be delivered of relief of 4 or 5000 foot and officers men and arms for 1000 horse out of *France*, within three weeks or a month at the farthest. The expectation hereof was the great cause that the horse were not willing to adventure upon opportunities of breaking away eastward, tho' some of the officers often importuned it.

Upon the last of *February*, Col. *Goring's* brigade having the guard upon *Cardinham-down*, and being to be relieved the next day about three in the afternoon, I received that Saturday night intelligence from *Leskard*, that the enemy was advanced to *Careton-down*; but trusting more to my guards than to by-intelligence, I sent the advertisement up to Lieutenant-Col. *Sands*, Major of Col *Goring's* brigade who then commanded the guard, with direction immediately to send out a party that way to discover. But of this it appeared afterwards nothing was done, but that guard was drawn off without orders from *Cardinham-down* to *Bodmin* town's end the Sunday morning early, and not as much as a scout kept out: so as when the next guard came to relieve it that day about three in the afternoon, coming upon the guard place they presently saw the enemy marching in full bodies within three miles of them, which was the first certain notice I had of their advance; so as then I had enough to do to hold them up with those few horse that were in guard, till I had drawn off the foot and carriages from *Bodmin* and *Lestwithiell* towards *Probus*. I sent out present orders to all the horse to draw immediately together to *Castle-Dennis* by *St. Colombe*: but such was their slackness that I remained all that Sunday night upon the rendezvous, keeping only the guard of horse before me, and could not get any consider-

considerable number of horse together the next day ^{A.D. 1644} by noon; notwithstanding they all knew that the enemy's whole power was then together at *Bodmin* within eight miles of us, and if they had that morning after it was day advanced but 2000 horse and dragoons towards us, we could never have got together.

The same day, being the 2d of *March* last about noon, I had a Council of War at a Farmer's house near *Castle-Dennis* of all the Officers of horse, (the foot Officers being then upon their march) to consult upon the whole state of our business, what was then to be done. Where Col. *Trevor* first alledged, that being drawn within the pass of *Wade-Bridge*, there was no possibility of breaking away with the horse, and that being so far inferior to the enemy's power, especially of foot and dragoons, we could not with any probable expectation of success stand before them in the field; that though some of the Officers should endeavour it never so much, yet the generality of the Army would not be drawn to engage the fight upon so evident disadvantage; that therefore there remained nothing to be done but to treat with the enemy to save what we could for foreign employments. This he moved, and the greater part of the Officers expressly concurred, not without some animosity, none dissenting but myself and Major General *Webb*, who ever disclaimed it. For myself, I told them 'twas a motion that was very new to me; yet so many Officers concurring in it, I could not conceive but there might be some reason for it; but (your Highness our Captain General being then in the country,) could not think it fit, nor I suppose they would not, to move in a business of that nature without your Highness's orders; that I would presently dispatch a Gentleman to your Highness, and doubted not to receive an answer within a very few days. With this kind of answer I

I 3 thought

A.D. 1644 thought fittest to divert a business wherein I saw such a considerable number of Officers so warmly engaged: for from that day forward I never escaped one day without being prest in it. Your Highness being at that time removed from *Pendennis* to *Scilly*, so that I received no answer of my letter concerning that business till after the treaty was engaged and concluded, the Officers daily pressing me; and Col. *Culpeper* by name, besides others, publickly declaring, that if I would not consent to a treaty, the soldiers would provide for themselves: I then gave them this plain answer, that the utmost they could expect from me was, to give way to the horse to treat; for I could not be a party to the treaty myself, because I neither could nor would be engaged to treat for the foot or forts which were not distressed; and I could not answer the treating for them. Then upon Friday the 6th of *March* I received by a trumpet from Sir *Tho. Fairfax* his letter of the 5th of that month, wherein he seemed to offer me a treaty for the horse only. A copy of which letter followeth.

S I R,

“ **T**Hrough the goodness of God to his people and
 “ his just hand against their enemies, your forces
 “ being reduced to such a condition, as to my sense
 “ the same good hand of God continuing with us
 “ wherein alone we trust, they are not like either
 “ to have subsistence or shelter long where they
 “ are, or to escape thence, nor (if they could) have
 “ they whither to go for better, I have thought
 “ good (for prevention of more bloodshed or of farther
 “ hardship or extremities to any but such whose
 “ hearts God shall harden to their own destruction)
 “ to send you this summons for yourself and them
 “ to lay down arms, and with a tender of such conditions,

“ ditions, upon a present surrender, and ingage-
“ ment never more to bear arms against the Parlia-
“ ment, as may be better than any thing they can
“ rationally expect by farther standing out.

A.D. 1644

“ First therefore, to your soldiers in general
“ (English and foreigners) I shall grant liberty, ei-
“ ther to go beyond Sea, or to their homes in *Eng-*
“ *land* as they please; and to such English as shall
“ choose to live at home my protection, for the li-
“ berty of their persons and for the immunity of
“ their estates from all plunder or violence of sol-
“ diers, and all to go their ways with what they
“ have, saving horse and arms.

“ But for Officers in Commission and Gentlemen
“ of Quality, I shall allow them to go with horses
“ for themselves, and one servant or more suitable
“ to their qualities, and with arms befitting Gentle-
“ men in a condition of peace: and such Officers
“ as would go beyond Sea for other service, to
“ take with them their arms and full number of
“ horses answerable to their offices.

“ To all Troopers and the inferior sort of horse
“ Officers (bringing in and delivering up their
“ arms) twenty shillings a man, in lieu of their
“ horses to carry them home.

“ To English Gentlemen of considerable estates
“ my pass and recommendation to the Parliament
“ for their moderate composition.

“ Lastly, for yourself, (besides what is before
“ implied to you in common with others) you may
“ be assured of such mediation to the Parliament
“ in your behalf both from myself and others, as
“ for one whom (for personal worth and many vir-
“ tues, but especially for care of and moderation
“ towards the country) we honour and esteem a-
“ bove any other of your party, whose error (we
“ supposing you more swayed with principles of
“ honour and conscience than others) we most pity,


A.D. 1645 “ and whose happiness (as far as is consistent with
 “ the publick welfare) we should delight in more
 “ than in your least suffering.

“ These things not from need, or other ends
 “ (more than human and christian) having offered,
 “ I leave to your consideration and theirs whom
 “ they concern ; desiring your and their speedy re-
 “ solution, which I pray may be such as shall be
 “ most for the honour of God, the peace and well-
 “ fare of this poor Kingdom, and for your and
 “ their good, so far as may stand therewith. And
 “ having therein discharged (as I conceive) the
 “ duty of an honest man, a Soldier, and a Christian,
 “ if God shall see it good to let your hearts be
 “ hardened against your own peace, I shall (tho’
 “ with some regret, yet with cheerfulness rejoicing
 “ at the righteous judgment of God) pursue my
 “ charge and trust for the publick in another way,
 “ not doubting of the presence and blessing which
 “ God hath hitherto vouchsafed in the same cause
 “ to the weak endeavours of

Your Servant,

THO. FAIRFAX,

This letter I communicated to none but my Lord
Wentworth and my Lord *Capel*, and I am very
 confident they kept it secret: yet the rest of the
 horse officers got notice of it, and expressed a discon-
 tent that I had received such a letter and concealed
 it from them. Hereupon without any authority
 from me, most of the field-officers of horse assembled
 themselves and procured Adjutant-General *Bulstrode*
 to write them several letters for a meeting at Col.
Finch’s lodging, where they took a determinate re-
 solution to press me again in the business of the
 Treaty: which they did upon Saturday the 7th of
March,

March, and delivered me in a list of the officers *A.D. 1644*
names concurring in it; which I have here inserted 
in the margin *.

At the same time the enemy advanced and fell upon our horse guards, which were taken the more unprovided, and I was the less able with speed to succour them, by reason that all the chief officers were absent from their quarters upon that occasion. Being in this condition, I saw nothing left for me to do but to draw my foot and ammunition into *Pendennis* and the *Mount*, thereby to secure those places and the men: which I did accordingly, and to yield to the horse officers importunity for the treaty. So I returned Sir *Tho. Fairfax* the ensuing answer.

S I R,

“ I Received yours bearing date the 5th of this
“ month, wherein I must acknowledge much
“ kindness from you, and a very christian confide-
“ ration of sparing of blood. But one thing there
“ is (I am confident) you have too much honour
“ to expect from me; which is, that to avoid
“ any danger, or to enjoy any worldly advantage,
“ I shall renounce my Master’s service, to whom I
“ am both a sworn subject and a sworn servant,
“ that I must profess I am resolved to undergo all
“ fortunes with him; and if there shall be cause,
“ to suffer any thing rather than in the least point
“ to taint my honour in that particular. And I
“ hope there is not a man of any consideration in

* Col. *Colepepper*, Col. *Trevor*, Col. *Slingsby*, Sir *James Smith*,
Col. *Finch*, Col. *Wise*, Col. *Blunt*, Col. *Ginnings*, Col. *Goring*,
Lieutenant-Col. *Clarke*, Lieutenant-Col. *Starwel*, Col. *Borlace*,
Lieutenant-Col. *Clarke*, Sir *Henry Newton*, Lieut.-Col. *Marsh*,
Lieutenant-Col. *Fowkes*, Col. *Gunter*, Col. *Payton*, Col. *Lewkner*,
Lieutenant-Col. *Lunthy*, Adjutant-General *Bulstrode*.

“ this

A.D. 1646 “ this army under my command, that is not so re-
 “ solved yet by all honest and honourable ways.
 “ To procure a peace to this kingdom and the spa-
 “ ring of christian blood (I take God to witness)
 “ I am and ever have been most desirous: and I
 “ hear from good hands, that our gracious Sove-
 “ reign is at present so far advanced in a Treaty
 “ with the Parliament, as he hath promised to pass
 “ four of the principal of their bills proposed,
 “ whereof the intrusting of the Militia for seven
 “ years in hands agreed between them is one. I
 “ desire you to deal freely with me in that particu-
 “ lar, for if it be so, it will spare us the labour of
 “ further treaty, being for my part ready to obey
 “ whatsoever his Majesty shall agree unto. God
 “ hath indeed of late humbled us with many ill
 “ successes, which I acknowledge as a very certain
 “ evidence of his just displeasure against us for our
 “ personal crimes: yet give me leave to say, your
 “ present prosperity cannot be so certain an evi-
 “ dence of his being altogether pleased with you.
 “ 'Tis true we are reduced to a lower condition
 “ than we have been, yet have we a gallant body
 “ of horse, that being preserved to a general ac-
 “ cord may be of good use against a common ene-
 “ my, and being otherwise prest, (I may say it
 “ without vanity,) want not resolution at least to
 “ sell ourselves at a dear rate against any odds.
 “ Your propositions though they be not wholly to
 “ be consented unto, yet if a general accord much
 “ more desirable be not in a likely forwardness to
 “ prevent them, I shall be willing that eight Com-
 “ manders of ours, with three country Gentlemen,
 “ give a meeting to an equal number of yours, at
 “ any indifferent place to consult of this great busi-
 “ ness, and to conclude of some propositions that
 “ may be reasonable and honourable for both parts:
 “ wherein I hope God will so bless our clear inten-
 “ tions,

“ tions, as may prove a probable inducement to a *A.D. 1646*
 “ general peace, according to the unfeigned desires
 “ of

Your Servant,

March 8, 1645.

RALPH HOPTON.

“ A party of yours falling yesterday upon a guard
 “ of ours, it is likely they have taken some priso-
 “ ners. I desire the favour from you to receive a
 “ list of them by this Trumpet. Till I receive
 “ your positive answer to the contents of this letter,
 “ I shall not permit any of mine to attempt any
 “ thing upon any of your forces.

And so after some replies and Commissioners chosen, the Treaty began upon the 10th of the same month; Sir *Tho. Fairfax* still advancing, and our horse breaking every day more and more: so as at last I could not set out any guards, but a great part of them did intermix with the enemy, and suffer the enemy to intermix with them, many going to him in whole troops, and in this order the * Treaty was finished the 14th of the same month.

As to the two forts: on the 9th of *March* having my head-quarter at *Truro* with the foot and carriages, I had certain notice that Sir *Tho. Fairfax's* vanguard was advanced to *Probus*, and there intermixt with two brigades of our horse, which drew themselves off with little loss, in respect the Treaty was then on foot. I thought it then necessary to send off my foot and carriages into *Pendennis* and the *Mount*. Sir *Arthur Bassett* at the *Mount* asked but two hundred men: I sent him Col. *Collins* with his regiment, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Phillips*, and Major *Harsall* with their companies; which then made full two hundred men besides officers, as good

* I forbear to insert the articles, because I suppose they are already in print.

A.D. 1645 men and as well officered as any we had, and the full number came all whole to the *Mount*.

To *Pendennis* I sent your Highness's guards being then about 100 men, General *Digby* with the three regiments that were before *Plimouth* being then about 400 men, (but of those Col. *Champernowne's* regiment being about 100 did basely run away to the enemy.) Col. *Moleworth* with the remainder of his *Tertia*, (being the remainder of Col. *John Arundel's* and Col. *Tremayne's* regiments) being about 200 men, Col. *Wise* with his regiment being about 200 men, and Sir *Tho. Hooper* with some 40 Dragoons, and Captain *Burley*, Lieutenant-General of the Ordinance, and his brother with about 20 Gunners and Officers of the train, and 44 or 45 barrels of powder with bullet and match proportionable, and as many draught Oxen as were worth 300 *l.* and about twenty fat Oxen, that one *Bishop* had provided for *Exeter*. I sent likewise to the Governor of *Pendennis* an order for the establishment of a Council of War to assist him in that Government; the copy whereof followeth.

S I R,

“ A MONGST my many cares, my care of
 “ you and your precious charge is none of
 “ the least. You are now a full number of excel-
 “ lent good foot, and as good Officers as any are in
 “ *England*; and that you may make the best use of
 “ both, I must desire you to take to you your
 “ son Col. *Richard Arundel*, Col. *Slingseby*, Major-
 “ General *Moleworth*, Sir *Abraham Shipman*, Col.
 “ *Wise*, Col. *John Arundel*, Col. *Tremayne*, and
 “ Lieutenant-General *Burley*, to be a standing
 “ Council of War; by the voice of the major part
 “ of whom I must desire you to govern all your
 “ affairs. If General *Digby*, Sir *Henry Kelligrew*,
 “ Sir

“ Sir Charles Trevanion, and Col. Slaughter, or any *A.D. 1645*
 “ of them stay with you, they are likewise to be of
 “ this Council. There are yet many provisions
 “ that lie at *Truro*, which for want of your sending
 “ up of boats are like to be lost; amongst which
 “ there is great store of okeham: if you send up
 “ boats for it yet to-morrow, I hope we shall be able
 “ to preserve them for you. And so desiring you
 “ all to lose no time in the settlement of your bu-
 “ siness, I rest

Your affectionate Servant,

Truro, this Monday-night,
 March 9, 1645.

RALPH HOPTON.

I gave likewise order to Col. *Richard Arundel* with the remainder of his train-bands, and those of Col. *Jonathan Trelawney*'s regiment to draw in thither: but how many of them went in I know not; but the state I left that place in will appear by several letters that I received from the Governor and Col. *Slingsby*, whom your Highness left designed for Lieutenant-Governor there.

As for the *Great George*, the ship appointed by your Highness's order to be brought after your Highness by Sir *Henry Manwaring*, how she was staid by the importunity of the Governour and Officers of *Pendennis* for the service of that castle, and that I used my best endeavour to have your Highness's order observed concerning that ship, will appear by several letters that passed between me and them, which I have ready to shew.

Lastly concerning the *Mount*, notwithstanding I sent an expresse to Sir *Arthur Bassett* to know his wants, and he in his answer dated the 8th of *March* last sayeth, that he is so well provided as he hopes to give a good account of that place for many months; yet when my Lord *Capel* and I were last
 at

A.D. 1646 at the *Mount*, we found it so ill provided, that
 { without speedy relief that place will be lost.

Scilly, April 13, 1646.

*The Proceedings of the New-moulded army from
 the time they were brought together in 1645,
 till the King's going to the Isle of Wight in
 1647.*

*Written by Col. Edward Wogan, till then an
 Officer of that Army.*

With the Names of all the Colonels of Horse and Foot.

The regiments of horse,
 each having 600 horse,
 besides Officers, were

1. The General's.
2. Commissary-General's.
3. Col. *Graves's*.
4. Sir *Robert Pye's*.
5. Col. *Whalley's*.
6. Col. *Riche's*.
7. Col. *Roffiter's*.
8. Col. *Bourcher's*.
9. Col. *Sheffield's*.
10. Col. *Fleetwood's*.
11. Col. *Hol's*, which was
 given Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* after
Naseby fight.
12. Col. *Okey's* regiment
 of Dragoons, which
 was 1000 men mounted,
 besides Officers,
 and were always counted
 the best men of the
 army.

The regiments of foot,
 each having 1000 men;
 besides Officers, were

1. The General's.
2. Major-General *Skippon's*.
3. Sir *Hardress Waller's*.
4. Col. *Pickering*.
5. Col. *Herbert*.
6. Col. *Ingoldesby*.
7. Col. *Fortescue*.
8. Col. *Mountague*.
9. Col. *Wielding*.
10. Col. *Hammond*.
11. Col. *Lambert*.
12. Col. *Rainesborough*.


With 400 pioneers.

THE first day of April 1645, we marched *A.D. 1646*
 from *Windsor* to *Reading*, where we received
 four months pay, both horse and foot, with an order
 on pain of death to take nothing from the country,
 but what we paid for; no, not so much as grass
 for our horses. From thence we marched to *New-*
berry, from *Newberry* to *Salisbury*, from *Salisbury* to
Dorchester, with an intention to relieve *Taunton-*
Dean, which was closely besieged by my Lord *Go-*
ring.

Being on our march, the General received order
 from both Houses to march back with all possible
 speed, and to attend the King's army which was
 then about *Leicestershire*, and to send part of his ar-
 my to relieve *Taunton-Dean*, if they could, which
 was accordingly done. The horse that were com-
 manded for that service, were commanded by Col.
Graves, and the foot were commanded by Col.
Wieling. The party consisted of 1400 horse and
 2000 foot.

The General marched back again with the rest of
 the army in all haste and came before *Oxford*, and lay
 before it 14 days, thinking to draw the King to-
 wards it, and to engage as he thought fit. But news
 was brought him that *Leicester* was taken. Forth-
 with we marched from thence towards *Northampton*.
 On our march Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* came to
 take his leave of the General and army, being not
 of the new model: and a number of the House of
 Commons could not stay any longer without leave of
 both Houses of Parliament. Upon which the Ge-
 neral writ to both Houses to desire leave for Lieute-
 nant-General *Cromwell* to stay in the army, and to
 command as Lieutenant-General, only for one ac-
 tion: which was accordingly granted.

Then we came on still towards *Naseby*, and lay
 in *Naseby* town. The King hearing of our ad-
 vancing,

A.D. 1647  vancing, marched back from *Harborough* to meet us. About 7 a-clock in the morning the vanguards of the armies appeared each to the other, and skirmished till both armies were drawn up. The right wing of our horse was commanded by Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*; the left by Commissary-General *Ireton*: the body of foot was led by the General and Major-General *Skippon*. Col. *Okey*'s regiment of Dragoons was on the left-hand of all our horse, and lined the hedges: which did mightily annoy the King's right wing of horse, as they advanced towards us.

The right wing of the King's horse charged our left wing, and routed us clear beyond our carriages. The King's horse fell a plundering our waggons and gave us time to rally: but a great many of our horse went clear away to *Northampton* and could never be stopt. The King's foot got ground apace, upon our foot being discouraged by our horse running away, and by Major-General *Skippon*'s being desperately wounded; insomuch that all our foot gave ground and were in a manner running away. *Cromwell* seeing almost all lost, charged the King's left wing, and disordered them; but by no means would pursue his advantage. The King's right wing, seeing their left wing of horse beat in, marched back again the same way they came. Then our left wing advanced to *Cromwell*'s former ground and stood, being much discouraged for the loss of our Commissary-General, and Col. *Bourcher*, which was wounded. Our foot got heart again and stood their ground. *Cromwell* with his wing joined with Col. *Rossiter*'s horse that came to us at that present, and charged the King's right wing of horse in the flank as they went by, and utterly disordered them, and pursued them to the top of the hill towards *Harborough*. The King's both wings of horse went clear away and never rallied. We divided

our left wing of horse, that stood in *Cromwell's* former ground, into several bodies, and charged the King's foot that fought most manfully all this while, and forced divers of our bodies to retire. But seeing all their horse beaten out of the field, and surrounded with our horse and foot, they laid down their arms with condition not to be plundered. Presently a noise was spread among our horse, that no man must light to plunder on pain of death, and forthwith to follow the King's horse; which accordingly we did, but very leisurely, being much discontented to leave all the plunder of the field to our foot. Certainly if there had but 1000 of the King's horse rallied, and charged us in our disorderly and discontented pursuit, they might without doubt have beaten us back again, and routed our foot which was richly laden with plunder and could by no means be brought together in a long time.

We leisurely continued the pursuit till we came within 2 miles of *Leicester*, where we found part of the King's horse drawn up; but they never offered to charge us, nor we them, but stood and looked on each other till night came on. They marched into *Leicester*, and we were called back again.

That day Sir *John Gell* was marching towards us with 1500 horse, and might easily have stopped all the King's party as they were going to *Leicester*: for which neglect he was by *Cromwell* soundly chid, and ever after suspected to be a well-wisher to the King's party.

Within two days after the battle, we came before the town of *Leicester* with our whole army; hearing that the King was gone towards *Wales* with all his horse, we lay down before the town, with a resolution to take it before we went further. The town being pestered with abundance of unnecessary people that staid behind the King, and a great many

A.D. 1646 that were wounded at *Naseby*, and the wanting of provisions both for man and horse caused the Governor to surrender the town upon honourable conditions.

After the town was surrendered, all our horse were sent to refresh for 2 or 3 days. Then a Council was called, and it was resolved that we should follow the King, and not suffer him to draw to an head again. That very night there came a member of the House of Commons to give thanks to the General and army for their good service, with a command from both Houses to march forthwith for the relief of *Taunton-Dean*, which could not possibly hold out three weeks longer, and to encourage us thereunto, brought with him a dispensation for Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* to stay 40 days longer in the army.

By this may be observed, that when the King took *Leicester*, if he had but marched Northwards, or for the Associated Counties, or for *Wales*, or had kept himself from fighting but for one month, we were all ruined: our new moulded soldiers were all suspected for the loss of their old officers; so that it was the only advantage we could have in the world, that of uniting our officers and soldiers together by engaging them in so seasonable a time as that was. And as I have said before,

If the King had but kept from engaging his army but one month, (which he might easily have done) we were certainly undone. The army in the West would be lost, with *Taunton-Dean*, and all the West left clearly to the King. All the North would have done their endeavour for him; and so would the Associated Counties: and I believe the Scots would have declared for him, or at least stood neuters; but that the change of that unfortunate battle did harden their hearts. *Wales* was then in a gallant condition under my Lord *Gerrard's* command.

Forthwith we began our march for the West, *A.D. 1646* and our horse marched after the rate of 20 or 30 miles a day, as fast as they could conveniently march. When the King's army in the West under the command of the Lord *Goring* heard of our speedy advancing, they drew off from the siege of *Taunton-Dean* and marched to meet us. The first place that both armies appeared to each other was at *Long-Sutton* in *Somersetshire*, where there was a river between us, so that we could not engage each other, nor could not conveniently get over the river without great disadvantage. But that night news was brought the General that *Somerton* was quitted, which was the strongest passage on the river. So the next morning we marched over the river, all except Major-General *Massey's* brigade, that newly came to us, and staid on that side of the river.

Then my Lord *Goring* marched back to *Langport*, where he attended the coming of our army, and sent the greatest part of his horse through *Langport* to a place called *Illmore*; it seems, to divert our design of marching directly towards him. But Major-General *Massey's* brigade and Sir *Robert Pye's* regiment being on that side of the river, having intelligence of that party of the King's horse at *Illmore*, advanced towards them, where they found all their horses at grass, and some of the men asleep, some a swimming, and the rest carelessly walking in the fields. The place where our men were to enter into the meadow was no broader than where two horses could enter at a time; so that the greatest part of the King's horse got away towards *Langport* where the rest of their army lay; except 4 or 500 horses that were taken in the very field that their masters could not recover. The thanks of that neglect of guarding, among ourselves we gave to one Lieutenant-General *Porter*, that was then Lieutenant-General to the Lord *Goring*.

A.D. 1646 The next day our General marched towards *Langport* town, where we found the Lord *Goring* drawn up, with the greatest part of his horse drawn up in the rear of his foot, as we conceived; and his foot advancing towards us and our foot towards them; there was an hot dispute for an hour. We observed the King's horse drawing off by degrees towards *Bridgewater*: and then our horse pressed on among their foot and dispersed them, and fell in the rear of the King's horse, killed and took many of them; the rest we forced to *Bridgewater*. Two or three days afterwards we appeared before *Bridgewater* with our whole army. My Lord *Goring*, with what party he had, marched towards *Exeter*. We lay still before *Bridgewater*. There was part of the army sent to block up *Bruntonrust*, and other little garrisons about *Bridgewater*, and in few days took them.

Bridgewater held out for some weeks reasonably. The out-town being stormed and taken, the rest was given up on honourable conditions; so likewise was *Sherburn*. From *Sherburn* there was a party of horse and dragoons sent towards the *Bath*, under the command of Col. *Rich*, to get intelligence where P. *Rupert* was, or what party he had; he being then about *Bristol*. Col. *Rich* hearing that there was no strong party then at *Bath*, came very nigh the town, being then commanded by Sir *Thomas Bridges*, as I take it. Advancing nigh the town, he sent a party of his dragoons in the night to the gate and set fire to the gate. The party within not being able as they thought to maintain the town, beat a parley, and had conditions the next day to march for *Bristol*.

Bath being taken, all our army came thither, and Major-General *Massey* was left behind about *Bridgewater*, to wait on the Lord *Goring*'s horse. Then all our army advanced towards *Bristol*, and lay two miles

miles from the town for 3 or 4 days. Then we ^{A.D. 1646} came near the town and lay round it, without any manner of works or trenches before us; only trees cut down and the highways blocked up: and where Col. *Wielding's* brigade was on the other side of the walls, he intrenched himself round, and was much strengthened on that side by the *Somersetshire* Clubmen that came in to strengthen that side. We lay so for a matter of a month, and all that while expected only when they would fall, with but our horse to perform all duty. There was no remarkable action all this while; only P. *Rupert* sallied out one misty morning towards *Dordam* down, came behind our guards without being discovered, and came up to the very downs, but did no harm, only took Col. *Okey* prisoner, and so went back again. As I afterwards heard, the Prince's horse at that time was commanded by one Sir *Horatio Carey*; which I must confess was very ill managed. He came up with his forlorn, where a whole brigade of our horse were on foot. We were so far from mounting, that most of us ran to a little hedge that was between us and the enemy, and stood there, till some of our fellows got on horseback: then Sir *Horatio* drew off again, without charging at all; which if he had, he might without loss of a man have ruined all our brigade.

Seeing there was no hopes to get the town but by plain force, it was prepared on all sides for the storming of it: which was after this manner. About 12 of the clock at night, it was ordered, that we should fall on round the town at the going off of some pieces of cannon of ours. We were all beaten off with the loss of many of our men; yet we were commanded to go on again, and were beaten off the second time; only some of our foot got over the line nigh *Pinehill* fort, and made good that part of the line, till our pioneers came and made way for

A.D 1646 our horse: and by break of day with 500 horse we got within the line. In the mean while Col. *Wield- ing* and all his brigade were beaten off from entring the other side: and our foot that were on that side which we first entred, ran confusedly into that side of the town. When the King's men saw us, when it was daylight, got within the line, they all ran off: some ran to the great fort, where the Prince was, and the rest got within the town; only some men that were kept together by one Col. *Taylor* which fought nobly, and when all his men were lost, he mounted on horseback, and charged clear through our horse, to the admiration of us all, and refused quarter, getting from us a good many wounds. Some of our Officers took pity on the Gentleman, and did as much as they could to save his life, and disarmed him, but shortly after he died. There was likewise one Major *Smith*, who was Major to that Colonel which commanded the men that were in *Pinebill* fort, that fought most gallantly. He and all his men were slain in the fort, and the fort taken. When it was bright daylight, the Prince perceived from the great fort, that our men were got within the line, and that *Pinibill* fort was lost: he beat a parley and sent to treat with our General; which was presently accepted and conditions granted, that the Prince should march out with bag and baggage.

I have heard the Prince much condemned for the loss of that city, but certainly they were much to blame. First, let them consider that the town was entered by plain force with the loss of much blood; and then, the Prince had nothing to keep but the great fort and the castle. Perchance he might hold out for some weeks, and then of necessity he must have lost all his horse, which was in all 800; and then he had no expectation of any relief at all. Let all this be considered, and no man can blame him.

Be-

Besides, if all those men were lost, as they must of *A.D. 1646* necessity be, there was no hopes of getting an army in the field for the King: and (as I have heard) those very men were the beginning of that army, that my Lord *Astley* lost at *Stow* in the *Would*.

When the Prince was marched for *Oxford* with all his men, we were sent to quarters westwards of *Bristol*. Then Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* was sent with part of the army to take *Berkeley* castle, *Winchester* castle, and *Basing* house; which accordingly he did, and came back again to the rest of the army.

All this time Major-General *Massey* lay with his brigade about *Bridgewater* and *Taunton-Dean*, to attend the motion of Lord *Goring's* army that lay about *Tiverton* and *Exeter*. Then all our army advanced towards *Tiverton*, which was then a garrison for the King and commanded by Sir *Gilbert Talbot*. The town being quitted and the castle only left, our foot were placed in the town and our horse were sent towards *Crediton*: then the King's army drew back further westward. Our foot lay some days at *Tiverton* before they could get the castle: at last they got it, partly by force, and partly by treachery. A garrison was left in the castle and all our foot advanced to *Crediton*; so that we blocked up *Exeter* quite round, thinking that the King's army would endeavour to relieve it. There we lay for the space of a month: the country was miserably oppressed by the King's army, and all our men were to pay for what they had on pain of death; so that all the country was generally affected to our party, by reason of the good carriage of our men and that they paid for what they took. Horse and dragoons were sent to garrison all the strong houses about *Chudleigh*. There was no remarkable action all this while and both armies lay still; only upon our advance towards *Totnes*, we

A.D. 1646 surprized almost all the horses that kept guard at *Bodie-Trafie*, they being securely lodged in the town, not fearing the advancing of our army in that miserable frosty and cold weather. There were taken 600 horses; but most of the men got away over ditches and hedges. Major-General *Massey* was left behind with his brigade about *Barnstable*; and Sir *Hardress Waller* was left with three regiments of foot and a regiment of horse at *Crediton* to block up *Exeter* on that side. The King's army lay then at *Torrington*, and (as we were informed) gave out, that they would relieve *Exeter*, and march through that City towards the East-country; which they might have done without any great resistance. We were afterwards informed, that they changed their resolutions and were resolved to linger out that winter in certain of their western garisons, which were then numerous in those parts.

Upon which intelligence, our General would lose no time, but resolved to try by what means he might engage the King's army to fight on his advance. It was thought fit that we should advance from *Totnes* near *Dartmouth*, only to see what the King's army would do, which lay close at *Torrington*, and took no notice of our being so nigh *Dartmouth*, being confident that our army would attempt nothing on that town, which was so well provided to receive us, if in case our General would be so rash to attempt any thing against it. There was 400 horse sent from the King's army under Major *Ducrocke* a Frenchman, with a command to get into the town of *Dartmouth* if he could, and to trouble our army out of that town, as often as he could. He ordered his design so well, that he got by our army in the night and got into the town, which was provided before with 2000 good foot, townsmen and soldiers. We lay with our army 2 or 3 days within half a mile of the town; and Admiral *Batten* with a squadron of ships
came

came and anchored as nigh the harbour mouth as *A.D. 1646* he durst. In the mean time word was brought our General, that the late horse which got into the town, and the Governor Sir *Hugh Pollard* (as I take it) could not agree, and was resolved to put them away; which was accordingly done. The very same night Major *Ducrocke* marched away with his party thro' part of our quarters, and marched for *Exeter*, without the loss of one man. The next morning news was brought our General, that the horse had left the Town. Presently he calls a Council of war, and propounds the storming of the town. Our officers were surprized at the motion, and some of them spoke that it was impossible that any good could be done in that attempt. Their reason was this, that the town was well fortified with a good line, and many good forts, and had 2000 to man them; and that besides, if it were their good fortune to gain the line and some of the outer forts, they were nothing the nigher to gain the town; for that in every corner of the streets there were block-houses, that so well answered one another, with an hundred and odd pieces of ordnance mounted in them, that if they were all now in the streets, those block-houses would certainly beat them out with the loss of all their men. The General made answer, he wanted nothing for the gaining of the town but their good endeavours; and that it was true the difficulties were great, yet he made no doubt but to be master of the place as soon as he attempted it. It was agreed, that the next night after it should be stormed. Order was sent to Admiral *Batten* to land 500 of his seamen presently on that side the town which is called *Kingswere* fort, and to receive orders from the Officer that commanded on that side, which was accordingly done. About 12 of the clock at night the army was to fall on, upon the firing of 3 pieces of cannon which were placed for
that

A.D. 1646 that purpose. Before it was night, the army of foot drew as nigh the town as they could conveniently for shot, and the horse all drew back a mile or two, except those few that were to attend the fortune of the foot: and the officer that commanded on *Kingswere* side, had orders not to fall on on that side when the guns went off, by reason his party was weak, there being only two troops of horse and 200 firelocks with the seamen. His orders were only to alarm that side when the army fell on the other side. At the appointed time the signal was given, and the soldiers gave a shout and fell on: the service was hot for the time, but continued not long, for our soldiers got over the line with less opposition than they expected. In the mean while the Officer that was on *Kingswere* side did according to his orders, and when he came to alarm them on that side, he had better success than he expected; for when he came nigh to the turnpike, he found the place was quitted, and so entered without any opposition from those that guarded that post, and marched up to the fort, which was then commanded by Sir *Henry Keane*. The soldiers on the other side came into the town so confusedly and unwarily that it was thought if they had but once fired their guns in their block-houses, they might have easily killed all our men. The Governor himself was wounded and retired to his castle, so the next morning had conditions; and so had Sir *Henry Keane* out of his fort. That morning we had 1500 prisoners; great many of them took up arms with us, and those of them that were Cornish men, our General released and sent them to their several homes, promising never to bear arms against the Parliament. To each of them he gave half a crown to bear their charges; which took so much with the country where they went, that it lessened much their affections to the King's service.

The taking of that town much refreshed our army, they being before almost quite out of heart. A.D. 1646
After our army had rested a week or nine days thereabouts, we then marched back again towards *Exeter*, and came to *Chudleigh*. There a Council of war was called, and it was agreed on, that the army should be sent to their winter quarters, which was accordingly done; and most of our horse were sent back as far as *Somersetshire*, and our foot were placed about *Chudleigh* and *Crediton*. Major General *Massey*'s brigade was placed about *Barnstable*: all our army was scattered for that winter, and so lay still in our quarters till we had our recruits from *London* both for horse and foot.

Our General had got intelligence from the Prince of *Wales*'s army, to this purpose, that there were great divisions in the King's army, and that there was a falling out between the Lord *Hopton* and Sir *Richard Grenville*; that the Prince's Council was divided, that the Prince was intending privately to leave the Kingdom; that if our army would advance speedily, and take the present advantage they might have by reason of those distractions, he might without doubt have his desire. A Council of war was called and the letter read, but first the name was torne out. The business was debated a long time: the officers of horse were all of an opinion, that if the horse were called from their quarters it would ruin the army; besides, they had no confidence in him that wrote that letter. Our General assured the Officers, that all was true, and that he was sure that the design was sure and without danger. It was agreed that the army should rendezvous, and that about *Crediton*.

When we met, it was ordered that all our train should be left at *Crediton*, and what ammunition was thought fit for the use of the army was to be carried on horses backs. Sir *Hardress Waller* was ordered

A.D. 1646 ed to be left with three regiments of foot and one of horse to continue the blocking up of *Exeter*. We marched from *Crediton* with all convenient speed towards *Torrington*, where my Lord *Hopton* lay with the King's army. Our army came within a mile or thereabouts, before we were discovered by any of the King's army, and drew up hard by the town: the King's army drew up behind the town, barricaded the town so well, and cut down trees in the lanes, that there was no coming nigh the town but in one place, which was so well manned and fortified, that there was no possibility of forcing that passage. The forlorn hope of our army was drawn out, which consisted of a 1000 musketeers, 500 horse and 500 dragoons. These advanced nigh the town, as nigh as they could. Night drew on; our forlorn had orders to stand and make good that ground till the next morning. Both armies lay still very quietly till it was about twelve of the clock at night. Our Lieutenant-General came down to see our forlorn, and observed the King's army (as he conceived) draw off, and made our forlorn believe that the enemy was drawing off from their barricadoes. Presently he commanded 40 or 50 dragoons to steal up to the barricadoes to see what the enemy was a doing. They crept up close to the enemy's turnpike: they were much mistaken in their enterprize; for the enemy lay close till our men came up by them and then gave our men such a volley, that they soon repented them of their rashness. The rest of our dragoons that were drawn out for the forlorn, seeing their fellows so engaged, went on without command of our Lieutenant-General to disengage their comrades. Our forlorn hope of foot seeing all the dragoons engaged, thought themselves bound in honour (for all the Lieut.-General could say to the contrary) to help the dragoons. They were both so far engaged at last, that they could
not

not come off without some danger to our army, if *A.D. 1646*
the enemy would pursue their advantage: therefore
our General thought it fit to have them seconded
with part of the army, which was presently done.
Our General marched himself with that part of the
army, and left orders with the Lieutenant-General
to second him with the rest of the army, if need
should require.

He came in so seasonable a time, when our
forlorn was giving ground. His being there in
person soon encouraged our men, that they fell on
again with a great deal of resolution, and forced the
enemy's turnpike. When our foot got the turnpike,
they made a stand and made way for some horse to
enter, where the General himself was in the head
of them. That party of horse came as far as the
market place without any great difficulty. All the
enemy's foot ran out of town to their horse which
was drawn up all behind the town. They once
sent in a party of horse to beat ours out, but could
no good on it. Our foot ran up and down the
town confusedly to get plunder. Some prisoners
they took and brought them to be secured in the
Church, where there were fourscore and odd barrels
of powder. I know not by what accident it was,
but the powder was fired and the Church blown up,
and all the men destroyed that were in it. The ter-
rible noise this made so astonished our men that they
were all amazed, and knew not of a good while
what the matter was. Our General escaped strange-
ly at that time; for a sheet of lead that was blown
off the Church, fell on the next man to the General
and killed both man and horse. The enemy took
the present advantage of our distraction and drew
off Westwards; which they could never have done,
if it had not been for that accident, by reason of a
narrow pass that was behind them, where three horse
could not go abreast. Then it being day-light, our
men

A.D. 1646 men recollected, and being put in order again, expected when the enemy would charge into town: but news being brought that they were retreated, order was given to our horse to advance through the town, and to draw up in the same ground that the enemy was gone from. In that fight we lost about 3 or 400 men, besides those that were lost in the Church. Of the enemy few prisoners of note were taken. My Lord *Hopton* was like to have been lost in the heat of the fight, his horse being shot and himself wounded: had his officers followed his example, it would have been a difficult matter for us to have entered the town.

A small party was sent to see where the enemy lay: they brought back intelligence, that the enemy was gone with all haste towards *Cornwall*, and that their horse marched so fast that they out marched their foot, and that many of their foot were scattered up and down the country. Our General would not pursue them at present, fearing to overmarch his men; but presently gave orders that the foot should be quartered in the town, and that the horse should be sent to rest in the next convenient towns. There we lay for four or five days: then it was resolved, that we should follow the enemy to *Cornwall*, and that Major General *Massey* should stay still before *Barnstable*, and that the siege of *Exeter* should be streightned with more of the army than was already there.

Our army then advanced towards *Cornwall*. There we heard that the enemy's head quarters were at *Launceston*, and that they had left 1000 horse and some foot to guard the river. There was 400 horse and dragoons, and 1000 foot drawn out of our army under the command of Col. *Bourcher*, with a command to force the passage; which was accordingly done, without any great opposition. Then all our army came over and marched to and stayed

ed there a day or two. From thence we marched A.D. 1646
towards *Launceston*, thinking to meet the enemy there: but they retired back to *Bodmin* with an intention to fight us there, (as we heard.) That being a plain country, and they much stronger than we in horse, they might perhaps have been too hard for us, or at least break through us towards *Exeter*.

From *Launceston* we marched towards *Bodmin*. About *Bodmin-bridge* we took some few troops that lay carelessly in their quarters, belonging to Sir *James Smith's* brigade. There we heard that the enemy the night before retired from *Bodmin* towards *Truro*. Then we came to *Bodmin* and lay there 4 or 5 days, to hear and observe what the enemy did. We all much wondered what the enemy meant, and why they retreated so far back into a neck of land where their horse could not be of so much use to them as in that champion country about *Bodmin*. At last we heard, the reason of their retreating so far back was, the sudden reinforcement of foot they were to have out of *Brittany* in *France*, and from my Lord of *Worcester* who was in *Ireland*, and writ (as we heard) to that purpose.

The M. of Ormonde to Lord Byron.

My Lord,

THough I have been in *England* now about a month, and by Sir *Tho. Fairfax* his leave and favour, almost a week thus near and sometimes at Court; yet if I had the greatest and securest liberty to speak my thoughts, I cannot give any probable conjecture how the present disorders will be reconciled. Yesterday propositions were brought the King from the Parliament: but if a man may judge by what is vehemently declared by those called the Independent party, and believed by all men to be
their

A.D. 1647 their interest, I cannot conceive but that they as little desired the King's granting them, as those within the exceptions. It is said after the refusal of these, which (it is thought) even the proposers are at least prepared for, something more moderate will be offered. But I have waded too far in things I understand not. I could heartily wish your Lordship had come hither; for I observe little notice taken of any man, but with exceeding civility: yet before this comes to you, it may be otherwise; tho' I have no ground to fear it, but that stranger alterations have of late happened in less time.

My Lord, I wish I knew as well how to serve you, as all the world knows you meriting all honour and respect: and that shall unfeignedly and constantly be paid you by

Kingstown, Sept. 8.
1647.

Your most faithful Servant,

ORMONDE.

The M. of Ormonde to Sir Maurice Eustace.

S I R,

Yours of the 8th I received the 14th of this month, which was good dispatch. But I fear three letters of mine, two from *Acton* and one from hence, have been longer upon the way. I must in thanking you for that, invite you to a continuance of such correspondence with me weekly: and since now I am at least at as good leisure as you, I shall not be in your debt for that; however accounts stand betwixt us for many other obligations you have upon me. If you have received a letter from me by *Vaughan*, you will find that the King is satisfied with the account I have given him in my endeavours in his service; however many of his subjects, less concern-

concerned and less able to discern things, are pleased to think of me. The business here, for as much as I can observe of it, stands thus. The old propositions, I mean those sent to *Newcastle*, were presented to the King this day fortnight, as I take it. In a few days after, his Majesty gave answer, wherein he waves treating upon them; but takes notice of certain proposals of the army as a fitter foundation of peace. The question is now to be determined in the Houses, whether they will insist upon their propositions, or take the proposals into consideration: and the event is expected this day. The difficulties that are upon the Houses in my apprehension are, that if they treat upon the proposals, the Scots may pretend the league with them to be laid aside; and if they reject them, the army (from whom they took rise) may, and it is thought ought to, vindicate them. Add to this, that the head quarters of the army is at *Lambeth* and we hear of no Scotch army in being; so that if the propositions be insisted on, and the proposals laid aside, it may with some become questionable, that the overtures made by the army were rather to facilitate the expulsion of the Presbyterian party, than to procure a peace by them. This is all the scantling I can attain to in this business.

My expectation of performance from the Parliament in the later payment made me, with less caution than in prudence I ought, to lay out the money I received at *Dublin* and here; so that hitherto I am unable to satisfy all the payments I assigned at *Dublin*: but I have now procured an order to be first paid out of any money that shall come into their receipt at *Goldsmith's-Hall*: and I have given order to receive it as it comes in what sums soever, and thence to be made over for the discharge of my engagements at *Dublin*, wherewith I pray acquaint *George Lane*. But if this later payment should to-

A.D. 1647 tally fail, yet I will single out my debts, or the most pressing of them, and find money otherwise to pay them. I hear Sir *Patrick Wemys*, out of his faithfulness to the State, hath discovered a letter sent from one *Sterling* to him, whereby *Sterling* is like to suffer Martyrdom for the holy Covenant. I wish to be informed of the truth, and to be always continued in your memory as

Kingstown, Sept.
21, 1647.

Your constant friend and Servant,

ORMONDE.

Daniel O Neile to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord,

HAVING had the honour to wait on my Lord *Digby* hither to *Paris*, and to have been made choice of by him to serve him in those occasions which have occurred to him here, I thought I could not do a more acceptable thing to your Lordship, (whom I take to be so much concern'd in him) than to give you a punctual account of all those passages concerning his Lordship, which have been, and are likely to be, the great discourse of these Courts for a few days: for the exact truth of which I do engage my self to your Lordship.

My Lord *Digby* at his coming from *Rouen* towards *Paris*, receiv'd the news of Prince *Rupert's* being two nights before come from the army to *St. Germain's*. His Highness and his dependents, being the only persons from whom his Lordship could suspect any resentment, his Lordship prepared himself, by the best forethought he could, for any accident that might happen to him that way. But in his journey from *Rouen* to *Paris*, there happen'd
that

that with another body, from whom he and I least expected it, which hath since proceeded to a greater height than any thing between Prince *Rupert* and his Lordship, and which your Lordship will find intervened with that story.

About a league from *Esquye*, which was our dining place, we met Mr. *H. Rainsford* running post, with a great *espée de duelle au costé*, a strange sight in *France*, and so much observ'd at the instant by Mr. *John Digby* our only *Monsieur*, that he presently swore upon his life, that Gentleman was either posting from a Duel or to one. Mr. *Rainsford* seem'd to us as much surpris'd to meet the Lord *Digby*: unto whom turning back, and saluting, he ask'd whether his Lordship meant to be at *Paris* that night. His Lordship having told him he went no farther than *Manye*, he held on his way, as we thought towards *Rouen*.

Having din'd at *Esquye*, as we were going to horse, in came a Coach, a footman of my Lord *Wilmot's*, and a servant of Mr. *Rainsford's*; both which denying either of their masters to be there, begot so great a suspicion in most of our company of somewhat extraordinary, that the Bp. of *Derry*, who was also with us, told both my Lord *Digby* and me, that certainly it was some design of meeting his Lordship to quarrel: which his Lordship laugh'd at, and I much more, conjecturing (as I then express'd) that it was either a secret journey to Dr. *Wingstone* at *Rouen* to cure his gout, or a meeting with a banish'd Presbyterian friend, or with some Lady of honour. In this belief we were in our first sleep that night at *Manye*, from which lying in my Lord's chamber, where there were four beds *a la mode de France*, I was roused by one who had first told his errand to two others of our company, that a Gentleman of my acquaintance that came from *Paris* desired to speak with me suddenly, and secretly. But before I could

A.D. 1647 get ready and get out of the house, my Lord's servants had learnt from the postilion that those that sent for me, were the two Gentlemen who were brought in the Coach to *Esquye*, and were come back post to *Manye*. When I came to the place where I was told the Gentleman expected me, there I found my Lord *Willmot* and Mr. *Rainsford*. After a few Ceremonies my Lord *Willmot* told me, that he had travel'd in search of my Lord *Digby*, whom he thought to have met at *Rouen*, and that he had sent Mr. *Rainsford* post before with a challenge to him; I enquiring what was the occasion he had to quarrel anew with my Lord *Digby*; he answer'd, that my Lord *Digby* had written letters to his prejudice unto the Queen; for which injury he desired my Lord *Digby* should make him satisfaction with his sword in his hand. Much amaz'd at his Lordship's language, I demanded whether my Lord *Digby* had writ any thing to his prejudice since the last reconciliation the year before at *St. Germain's* before many honourable persons by the Queen's command; he answer'd, not that he knew: I told his Lordship, those letters that he complain'd of were printed half a year before the reconciliation, and that they were then the grounds of his Lordship's quarrel; and that in my opinion, he did ill to revive dead busineses. He said he had not seen them notwithstanding, not of a long time after the reconciliation; I reply'd, that in all the three Kingdoms there was not any that understood *English*, but in all likelihood had read them; that I could not imagine his Lordship could be so ignorant as he pretended; he reply'd, Sir, this dispute is in vain, I must have satisfaction from my Lord *Digby* with his sword in his hand: I said, he did ill then since he was so resolved, to acquaint me with a resolution, in which I could neither serve the one nor the other, being both my most intimate friends; he said, that he had no other ways to convey

vey his desires to my Lord *Digby* than by me at *A.D. 1647* that time, and therefore conjured me to deliver his errand; I told him that he had already made choice of a second, who was fitter for that employment for many reasons which his Lordship could not deny; he reply'd, that the Lord *Digby* was constantly guarded upon the way with a great company of Gentlemen, and that at *St. Germain's* he was protected by the Queen, and that my denial of acquainting the Lord *Digby* with what he desired, was not so much out of want of friendship to him as out of a knowledge I had of the Lord *Digby's* want of courage: I told his Lordship I doubted not the Lord *Digby's* courage to answer him or any man living with his sword in his hand, but that I was not a fit person to bring him a challenge; and that I had rather be an engaged party than a post to go between as his Lordship would have me. He briskly answer'd, I believe you a man of honour, and I desire you to convey to my Lord *Digby* what I have told you as my second; at which *Twissogge of Ulster's* blood grew warm, and told him, that since no reason could sway with him, I would convey all that was modest of his errand to the Lord *Digby*; that his Lordship should have his satisfaction; and that I would be a second, but it should be against him. He pressed the meeting should be the next morning, as he said, for fear of prevention; I told him, that was the way to have no meeting, already many of our company had taken notice of Mr. *Rainsford's* going post, of his Lordship's Coach coming to our Inn, his servant's denying him, and my being sent for at so unseasonable an hour, and by such persons that the messenger would not discover who they were; and that since he unnecessarily engaged me, I assured him he should have what he aim'd at. After much heat we parted, having engaged myself his Lordship should have my Lord *Digby's*

A.D. 1647 answer the morning after at *Burdeau de Bigny*, three leagues from *Manye* in our way to *Paris*; where the next morning about eight of the clock I left this ensuing letter of my Lord *Digby's* to my Lord *Willmot*.


“ My Lord, I should have flown to give you the
 “ satisfaction you desire by Mr. *O Neile*, at this very
 “ instant, had not the passages on the way given
 “ every Gentleman in my company, even to the
 “ Bishop of *Derry* himself, so direct a suspicion, that
 “ somewhat was intended of that kind, that it were
 “ impossible for me to attempt the getting from so
 “ many observers at this time, without exposing our
 “ business and our selves to scorn. To the end there-
 “ fore that we may not trifle away our honours, my
 “ opinion is, that the only way to give us a sure
 “ and unsuspected opportunity, is for your Lordship
 “ and me to meet at *St. Germain's* upon the same
 “ score of outward civility and good correspondence
 “ whereon we parted; where as soon as our com-
 “ portment towards one another shall have allay'd
 “ the suspicion now rais'd, your Lordship shall not
 “ need put me in mind; and I further assure your
 “ Lordship, that since your former reconciliation
 “ (real on my part) is broken by you, nor seeming
 “ one that can intervene, (should any notice be
 “ given by the jealousies of those about me) nor no
 “ interposition whatsoever shall have power to dis-
 “ pence me, or excuse you from giving mutually
 “ that satisfaction, which is the proper decision be-
 “ betwixt men of honour, when once they are past
 “ the season of *esclaircissements* by discourse, as I
 “ conceive we are. In the mean time I rest

Manye, Oct. 4,
 1647.

Your humble Servant,

G. DIGBY.

My Lord, after I had left this letter where my Lord *Willmot* ordered me, I went that night with my Lord *Digby* to *St. Germain's*; whither my Lord *Willmot* also came the same night, having received the above mentioned letter. After supping at my Lord *Fermin's*, my Lord *Willmot* importun'd me much, his satisfaction should not be delay'd, and that my Lord *Digby* should instantly appoint him time and place. I desired his patience; that I assured him of a meeting very soon. His impatience could not be satisfied without speaking with my Lord *Digby* himself, whom I brought to him. At that meeting the Lord *Willmot* with as much impatience as before, press'd unto the Lord *Digby*, that he would assign him a present meeting. The Lord *Digby* reply'd, that he much wondered at the renewing of a quarrel after so solemn a reconciliation above a year ago; and his Lordship having upon the same assured him, (which he did again do, tho' not now by the way of satisfaction since he was resolved of another course) that he had never writ any thing to the Queen concerning him but by the King's command as Secretary of State; that he would give his Lordship a meeting with his sword the soonest he could; but it was impossible he could attempt the doing it in some days without exposing their business to interruption, not only in regard of what had pass'd between them on the way, but also in regard of Prince *Rupert*, upon whose occasion there would certainly be strict watch upon his Lordship; that notwithstanding if he should persist to press the business, his Lordship would comply the next morning with his desire; but with this condition, that if there should happen any interruption, that dishonour should lie upon the Lord *Willmot*, as having occasioned it by his unseasonable pressure; whereas if his Lordship would be content with the time my Lord *Digby* should appoint, he would or-

A.D. 1647  der it so, as to bear himself the dishonour if the meeting fail'd. Upon this my Lord *Willmot* reply'd, that rather than venture his honour so, he would take the *Ld. Digby's* time at that hazard; and thereupon having appointed him the Wednesday sevensnight after, at the Lord *Digby's* return from *Fontainebleau*, which was the soonest his Lordship could promise himself, that he should be disingaged from suspicions and have a fair pretence to go to *Paris*. The Lord *Willmot* expressed himself satisfied with this assignment; so that the Lord *Digby* would promise him not to give any body the like satisfaction before that time; for (said he) the injuries you have done me were the highest and most unsufferable that were ever done to a Gentleman. The Lord *Digby* reply'd, that he had done him none, but the same that he was forced by the duty of his place to do to the King's own nephew Prince *Rupert*. The Lord *Willmot* answer'd, 'twas true, but Prince *Rupert* would not seek right that way. Nay then, reply'd the Lord *Digby*, you need not fear that any thing shall intervene; wherewith the Lord *Willmot* seeming very well satisfied, withdrew the Lord *Digby* a little aside from me, and having said something to him which I could not hear, he took his leave; the Lord *Digby* giving him thanks for somewhat as he went, so as I heard it, saying that he dealt generously therein. I demanding what it was he thanked him for, the Lord *Digby* told me, that he had desired him to be very careful of himself, for he knew there was foul play intended him by Prince *Rupert*; which I cannot but believe to be the thing he then said to the Lord *Digby*, since some few hours before the Lord *Willmot* told me somewhat of that nature, tho' he named not Prince *Rupert*.

The next morning about nine of the clock I came to the Lord *Digby's* chamber, being sent for
hastily

hastily by him, who told me, Prince *Rupert* had a little before sent him word by Mr. *de la Chapelle*, that he expected him with his sword in his hand at the Cross of *Poissy*, a large league off in the forest with three in his company. His Lordship told me, that he had sent away Monfr. *la Chapelle* with this reply, that the Prince proceeded most generously with him; that it was true if his Lordship could have provided himself without danger of interruption, he would have been glad to have waited on his Highness on horseback, in regard of a weakness in his hurt leg much increas'd at present by his having lain so long in the wet in an open boat at sea; but that he was so highly sensible of the honour his Highness was pleased to do him, that he would rather *se trainer sur le ventre* to him, than miss of it; and that he would instantly wait on him as soon as ever he could get on his cloaths, and provide himself of the company necessary; one of which the Lord *Digby* then told me I must be.

Soon after the Lord *Digby* sent Mr. *Bennet*, (whom he also made choice of to be of the party) unto his Highness, humbly to beseech him, that he would not be displeased if the Lord *Digby* were forc'd to make him stay half an hour or an hour upon the place longer than his Lordship could wish, in regard that having no horses of his own, he could not make enquiry for any without hazarding a discovery; which rather than do, he was resolved to walk thither a foot, unless his Highness would be pleased to send the horses he supposed he had with him, to meet him some part of the way. Soon after Mr. *Bennet's* going, the Lord *Digby* being ready to follow, my Lord *Fermin* came to the Lord *Digby's* lodging, and told him that it was known that he had receiv'd a challenge from P. *Rupert*, there having been watches set on purpose to observe the Prince, and also who should come to the Lord

Digby's

A.D. 1647 *Digby's* lodging that morning; and that order was taken to prevent their meeting. The Lord *Digby* told the Lord *Fermin* there was no such thing, and that he would willingly wait upon him to Court; where having gotten him private in his chamber, and he declaring to the Lord *Digby* more and more circumstances of his knowledge of the business, the Lord *Digby* finding there was no other way to get free, told the Lord *Fermin* that he must needs grant him one of two requests, which he knew he was too generous to refuse, either to suffer him to steal away to receive that honour unto which *P. Rupert* had so generously call'd him, or else that he would be of the party himself. The Lord *Fermin* reply'd, that if he had been engaged in this business, he should have offered his Lordship his service of his own accord; but that as things stood his Lordship must not expect it. My Lord *Digby* being in great perplexity and passion, told his Lordship, that his (*viz.* the Lord *Digby's*) honour would suffer so much by this interruption that he could not desist from pressing his Lordship to be of the party. Whereupon the Lord *Fermin* with some passion, (as I conceive he had reason) reply'd, if you will force me to such extremities, I will be of the party, but it shall be against you; of which the Lord *Digby* accepting with much protestation of his sense of the misfortune, the Lord *Digby* went away to the place assigned with myself and Major *Bunkelye* one way, and my Lord *Fermin* another. As soon as we came to the forest side, we there met Mr. *Bennet* with Prince *Rupert's* horses, who had received him and his message with much nobleness and civility: but as his Lordship's foot was in the stirrup, we were all arrested by the Queen's guards, and by them brought back to the Queen, who by her command restrained the Lord *Digby* to the house that day. Soon after Prince *Rupert* with those that should have serv'd

serv'd him, who were the Lord *Gerrard*, Monfr. *la Chapelle*, Monfr. *Guatier*, as also the Lord *Fermin*, A.D. 1647
 were brought out of the field by the P. of *Wales*,
 who was that morning a hunting in the forest. Whereupon publick notice being taken, and the grounds being examined of Prince *Rupert*'s resentment, his Highness most discreetly and most nobly declar'd, that he was far from making a quarrel with the Lord *Digby* upon any thing he had done against him as Secretary of State, tho' of never so much prejudice to him; but that this resentment was upon speeches that he was inform'd the Lord *Digby* had publish'd highly to his dishonour; such indeed as could the Lord *Digby* have been guilty of, his best friends could not but have thought him the indiscreetest man alive, and very unworthy to have been honour'd by his Highness by so generous a way of resentment. Upon declaration of the cause by his Highness, the business was referred to the Lord *Culpeper*, the Lord *Gerrard*, the Lord *Wentworth*, and Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, to consider what satisfaction was fit for the Lord *Digby* to give unto his Highness: but they found his Lordship so forward to clear himself of an imputation so prejudicial to him, as that having publish'd the pretended words concerning his Highness, and on the other side his Highness so generous in not demanding or expecting from the Lord *Digby* any thing that might misbecome him, that the business was that night concluded in the presence of the Queen and Prince of *Wales*, much to the satisfaction of both Parties. Since which reconciliation Prince *Rupert* has carried himself so nobly to the Lord *Digby*, and the Lord *Digby* is so possess'd with his Highness's generous proceedings towards him, that I think in my conscience there is no man at present more heartily affectionate than the Lord *Digby* is to his Highness's person

A.D 1647 } person and service, of which your Lordship will find some testimony in that which follows.

Upon the Lord *Digby's* coming from the Prince of *Wales's* lodgings, and walking with him to the Queen's side in her Majesty's presence-chamber, his Lordship whisper'd to the Lord *Willmot*, that he hop'd he would not be startled at any thing that happened that day, since he might be sure, that nothing should hinder him from complying with his Lordship according to his promise. Whereupon the Lord *Willmot* reply'd, that if his Lordship had been a person either of courage or honour, he would not have done any thing that morning contrary to his engagement to him. Whereunto the Lord *Digby* made no other answer, than that he was there in a place of sanctuary, and that he did not mean to word it with him. Soon after the Lord *Willmot* met me, and told me in very sharp and disobliging terms to the Lord *Digby*, that he having broke his word by answering Prince *Rupert's* challenge, he would not have the meeting longer delayed, and that if the Lord *Digby* did not suddenly do it, he would affront him and post him for a coward. In truth, my Lord, I was so incensed at these words, that if I had not feared the Lord *Digby's* displeasure, I should have made it my own quarrel; but apprehending that, I told the Lord *Willmot* that I would find the Lord *Digby*, and acquaint him with his importunity. Before I could find his Lordship, my Lord *Wentworth* came to me from the Lord *Willmot* (being newly acquainted with the business by my Lord *Willmot*) to renew the same pressures; whereupon I repair'd to the Lord *Digby*, unto whom having convey'd both what the Lord *Willmot* and the Lord *Wentworth* desired me, concealing the sharp expressions of Lord *Willmot*, the Lord *Digby* shortned the time a weak, appointing Wednesday following (then being Saturday) for the meeting
near

near *Madrid*, a house of the King's within two ^{A.D. 1647} leagues of *Paris*, nominated to me by the Lord *Willmot*, Tuesday night being the soonest that the Lord *Digby* possibly could have a pretence to go to *Paris*. I found the Lord *Digby* troubled at nothing but that he saw a new man (my Lord *Wentworth*) called into the business, wherein Mr. *Rainsford* had been formerly engag'd; and he commanded me thereupon to tell the Lord *Willmot* that he was much troubled at the engagement of more friends in their quarrel, and that since Mr. *Rainsford* had been so far admitted into it, and then at *St. Ger-mains*, it could not be but that in honour he would hinder us, if he found himself left out, and that therefore his Lordship did intend to bring another witness of the action to correspond with Mr. *Rainsford*. The Lord *Willmot* received this message concerning Mr. *Rainsford* with much displeasure and sharp expressions, but upon my several times going to and fro about the business, he was forced by the reason of the thing to submit thereunto; and without more ado I left them the measure of our swords.

Upon this morning being Wednesday the 9th of Oct. the Lord *Digby*, Mr. *John Digby*, Sir K. *Digby*'s younger Son our only Monfr. and myself, were early upon the place, where half an hour before seven of the clock, (which was the hour assigned) the Lord *Willmot*, the Lord *Wentworth*, and Mr. *Rainsford* met us; where after many civilities pass'd on all sides, and the Lord *Willmot*'s and the Lord *Digby*'s earnest intreaties in vain, that the seconds might not be engag'd after the French manner to fight, whilst we were unbuttoning, the Lord *Digby* desired that we would all understand and bear witness of the quarrel upon which he then should fight with Lord *Willmot*; the Lord *Digby* said, that it was true, that the Lord *Willmot* having challeng'd him upon the former quarrel, upon which they were recon-

A.D. 1647 reconcil'd the last year, his Lordship had promised to meet him with his sword, and given him an assignation accordingly; but that since his assuring the Lord *Willmot* of that honourable way of satisfaction, the Lord *Willmot* had given his Lordship such ungentleman like provocations, as he would rather have answer'd with an affront than with his sword, but for another thing that had interven'd; which was the only ground upon which he could then fight with him, namely, that the Lord *Willmot* had been author to the Lord *Digby* of so unworthy a scandal upon Prince *Rupert*, as to tell his Lordship that his Highness would not seek right of him in a way of honour, but that he intended his Lordship foul play. To this the Lord *Willmot* reply'd, that he did not challenge my Lord *Digby* upon the old reconcil'd quarrel, but upon printed letters of the Lord *Digby's* which he had not then seen, and for what he had said concerning Prince *Ruperti* he would prove it false by and by. Whereupon out flew bilboes and to work we went *ala mode de France*. 'Twas my fortune and my Lord *Wentworth's* (who had first profess'd one to another we had rather have met at a bottle) at the first pass to close and tumble together, where we lay groveling till Mr. *Digby* had like to have squeezed us to death by overbearing almost upon us as massy a bulk as himself, Mr. *Rainsford*, whom, having disarm'd, he ran in with both swords, crying to Lord *Willmot* to yield his, at the instant of time that the Lord *Digby* had hurt the Lord *Willmot* in the sword hand. The Lord *Willmtt* gallantly reply'd, that they might take his life, but that he would not part with his sword; whereupon it was not further press'd. My Lord *Wentworth* and I coming in, a motion was made by us for a perfect reconcilement there, and that the business might be pass'd over in silence. But the Lord *Willmot* incens'd as it should seem

by

by the disadvantage on his part, refus'd a reconcili-^{D. A. 1647}ation, and told the Lord *Digby*, that he hoped he would not think that he had much the better by that which was to be attributed more to his friends good fortune than his own; whereupon the Lord *Digby* reply'd, that if he had had a much more personal advantage over him he should not have been vain of it; and without more words we parted, we to *Paris*, and they to *St. Germain's*.

This, my Lord, is the substance and circumstances of what has pass'd in this business, as near as I can remember.

I humbly beseech your Lordship to excuse me for having made use of another hand. The next I hope will bring your Lordship the news of as perfect an agreement between these Lords as between Prince *Rupert* and my Lord *Digby*.

St. Germain's late at night,
October 9, 1647.

I am your Lordship's

most humble Servant,

DANIEL O NEILE.

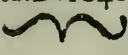
Relation of the Battle of Preston. Aug. 26, 1648.

S I R,

THIS will give you a final account of Sir ^{A. D. 1468}*Marmaduke Langdale's* employment; which is now ended, being a prisoner in *Nottingham-castle*, where he hath civil usage. You have heard the condition he was in at *Settle* and *Gigleswick*, with about 3000 foot and 600 horse the 13th of *August*: where hearing the Parliament-forces were gathered together and marching towards him, he went to acquaint Duke *Hamilton* therewith to *Horneby*; where he determined to march to *Preston* where (his army being

A.D. 1648 being numerous in foot) he might have the greater advantage upon his enemy in those inclosed countries. Sir *Marmaduke* marched near *Clitherowe* towards *Preston*: in his march he met with my Lord *Callander* and divers of the Scottish Officers quartered in the way, with whom it was resolved to march to *Preston*: but for the present, the intelligence was, that the Parliament forces were divided, some part whereof were marched to *Colne*, and so to *Manchester*, to relieve that town, in case the Scots should press upon it. This made the Officers of horse more negligent in repairing to *Preston*, but quartered wide in the country. The same night intelligence came, that *Cromwell* with all his forces was within three miles of Sir *Marmaduke's* quarters: which he immediately sent to the Duke, and told it my Lord *Leviston* to acquaint Lieutenant-General *Middleton* therewith; and drew up his forces together in a field, and so marched towards *Preston* betimes in the morning, where he found the Duke, the Lord *Callander* with most part of the Scottish foot drawn up. Their resolution was to march towards *Wigan*, giving little credit to the intelligence that came the night before, but suffered their horse to continue in their quarters 10 and 12 miles off. Within half an hour of Sir *Marmaduke's* meeting, and by that time he was drawn into the closes near *Preston*, the enemy appeared with a small body of horse. The Scots continued their resolution for *Wigan*; for which end they drew their foot over the bridge. The enemy coming the same way that Sir *Marmaduke* had marched, fell upon his quarters, where they continued skirmishing six hours; in all which time the Scots sent him no relief. They had very few horse, so as they sent him but few afterwards, which were soon beaten. He kept his post with various success, many times gathering ground of the enemy; and as the Scots

acknowledged, they never saw any foot fight better A.D. 1648
 than his did. The Duke being incredulous, that
 it was the whole army, sent Sir *Lewis Dives* to
 him; to whom he answered, it was impossible any
 forces which were inconsiderable would adventure to
 press upon so great an army as they had, and there-
 fore he might conclude that it was all their power
 they could make; with which they were resolved
 to put all to the hazard; and therefore Sir *Marmaduke*
 desired he might be seconded and have more
 powder and ammunition, he having spent 9 bar-
 rels of powder. The Scots continued their march
 over the river, and did not secure a lane near the
 bridge, whereby the Parliament's forces came upon
 Sir *Marmaduke's* flanks. Neither did the forces
 which were left for his supply come to his relief,
 but continued in the rear of him. When most part
 of the *Scots* were drawn over the bridge, the Par-
 liament forces pressed upon him in the van and
 flanks, and so drave him away into the town, where
 the Duke was in person with some few horse; but
 all being lost retreated over a ford to his foot. After
 Sir *Marmaduke's* forces were beaten, the Parliament
 forces beat the Scots away from the bridge presently,
 and so came over into all the lanes, that they could
 not join with the foot, but were forced to *Charlowe*,
 where he found Lieutenant-General *Middleton* rea-
 dy to advance towards *Preston* to the foot, which
 he did; but not finding the foot there, retreated
 towards *Wiggan* where the Duke was with his foot,
 Sir *Marmaduke's* being totally lost. There they
 took a resolution to go towards my Lord *Byron*, for
 which end they would march that night to *War-*
rington. In their march the Parliament forces fell
 so fast upon the rear, that they could not reach
Warrington that night: and Lieutenant-General
Middleton finding himself unable to withstand their
 forces, left the foot at *Warrington* to make their


A.D. 1648  own conditions, and so they marched towards *Malpas*. Six of the Scottish Lords in this march left them; whereof my Lord *Traquaire* was one: most part submitted to the Sheriff of *Shropshire*, who sent two Gentlemen of that county to the Duke to offer him the same quarter that the Earl of *Traquaire* had. From *Malpas* they marched to *Drayton* and so to *Stone*. In their march from thence to *Utoxeter*, the Parliament forces fell upon the rear, and took Lieutenant-General *Middleton*. At *Utoxeter* the next morning, going to attend the Duke for his resolution, Sir *Marmaduke* found him extream sick, not able to march. My Lord *Callander* seemed to refuse all ways of treaty, but rather to march northwards where they had a considerable force and the whole kingdom of *Scotland* at their backs. Upon this they marched over the rivertowards *Asbourne*: Sir *Marmaduke* had the van and was marching. Presently my Lord *Callander* came to him and told him, he would march with him, but none of his forces would, and that he had much ado to escape them: but that he was come with himself alone, his horse pricked in the foot, without a cloke. Sir *Marmaduke* persuaded his Lordship, that it was better to return to his forces, because he could not protect him, seeing the Scots had left him. He was resolved to sever and shift every man for himself, but to capitulate he could not with a safe conscience. After some little discourse, his Lordship returned to his forces, and Sir *Marmaduke* marched towards *Nottingham*, where those few he had took several ways, and he got that night over *Trent* and came to a house six miles from *Nottingham*; where himself, Col. *Owen*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Galliard*, and Major *Constable*, thought to have shrouded themselves as Parliamenters, and so made no resistance; but were discovered, and so are now in *Nottingham-castle*.

August 26, 1648.

The

*The Bishop of Derry (Dr. Bramhall) to the M.
of Ormonde.*

My Lord,

I Intreated my noble friend Mr. O Neile to intimate A.D. 1648
unto you Mr. Cullmar's answer concerning the 
corn, that so soon as he heard you were safe arrived
and received in *Ireland*, he would do his best by
himself and his friends. If your Lordship think fit
to let me know the ports and how I may give the
parties assurance from the Irish frigats in their pas-
sage, and of free sale there, I should not doubt but
to be able to persuade fundry of my friends to send
over good proportions, but rather out of *France*
than hence. I leave the relation of the two fleets
here, to the two noble Gentlemen who present this
to your hand.

Yesterday here landed Sir *Tho. Glemham* from
Berwick; and with him 40 Gentlemen and Offi-
cers. No English forces are now on foot for the
King, but 400 horse which are gone to the Earl of
Lanerick, and such as are with Sir *Philip Musgrave*
besieging *Cockermouth*. *Carlisle* and *Berwick* are
garrisoned by the Scots, but ill fortified and provid-
ed every way. *Cromwell* was upon his way at *An-
wicke* in *Northumberland*. The English would have
staid, if they could have been sure not to have been
delivered up upon a treaty. Only the two castles of
Scarborough and *Pontefract* are for the King in *York-
shire*. In *Scotland* they are by the ears one with an-
other. If the Earl of *Lanerick* have taken *Ster-
ling-bridge*, to be able to join with *Huntley*, *Seaforth*,
Ogilvy, and the rest of the Northern Clans, he will
have a very great army, and every way better than
his brother's, with the accession of those 2 brigades
of horse which escaped, and *Monro's* forces which

A.D. 1648 were not come up. The two parties were then upon a Treaty by the mediation of their Clergy: but nothing as then concluded.

Will your Lordship be pleased to give me leave to add only what many say and more believe; that two things have lost the great hopes and expectation of this year; first, a fear lest the Royalists should grow too potent; next an endeavour according to private transactions to do the work by a party subintroduced. And if I could let your Lordship know, what they spare not to speak, it might perchance gain your Lordship's assent.

My Lord, I think there are none who knew my Lord of *Strafford* in any measure, but repose their confidence much upon you. For my part, I wish good success may ever attend you, and if ever she seek to fly, may find her wings clipped: so prays

Your Lordship's, &c.

Delph. Oæ. 1.
1648.

JOH. DERENSIS.

The M. of Ormonde to Lord Hatton.

My Lord,

I HAVE received so many infallible evidences of your favour to me, and of your desire that the service, I am upon for the King, may prosper in my hands, that I should not embark myself towards it with satisfaction, without leaving with your Lordship some testimony of my thankfulness, and an assurance of that high esteem I have of those marks of your friendship to me. Which having thus plainly and very really done, you may henceforth expect the fruits of it, (if so unpromising a condition as mine may bear the phrase) by all possible offices of affection and service. But I see by those offers

offers you are pleased to make me by *George Lane*, ^{A.D. 1648} that I shall have more and greater obligations to account for ; there being nothing I can more desire, with any probability of obtaining my wish, than that the King may know, I have not wilfully delayed the execution of those commands I received from him by the Scots Commissioners before I came out of *England*, and in what condition I am now ready to go to endeavour the performance of them. I should be very glad to receive from him authentic confirmations of those powers I have from the Prince to resume the place and authority of Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and to treat of and conclude a peace with the confederate Roman Catholicks of that Kingdom. Upon the instructions I have from the Prince, foreseeing that there will not want some, as well of the confederate, as Parliament party, that will be ready to object against my authority either to govern or treat ; and that their objections may have more effect upon the minds of the people, if they shall say the King, during his treaty with his Parliament, had liberty (if he had had will) to confirm those powers: And that your Lordship may know how to move and inform his Majesty in all these particulars, you will receive herewith copies of my authorities and instructions, and of my letters to the Prince and his Secretary, together with the copy of a letter from my Lord *Inchiquin* related to in those letters. But if your Lordship find, or his Majesty apprehend, any danger to his Person in any or all these things, I shall much rather choose to struggle with all the difficulties that the want of them can raise against me, than in the least measure to hazard that. And in that case, it will be sufficient, that his Majesty be pleased, by a letter in his own hand to my Lord *Inchiquin*, and another to me, to declare his pleasure in those particulars, as briefly as he thinks fit. Only that to my Lord *Inchiquin* should have,

A.D. 1648 besides what concerns the business, some expressions of kindness, and undertakings to perform unto him whatever hath been promised him by the Queen and Prince: and if these letters be sent safely to me, I dare undertake they shall never appear to his Majesty's prejudice. I should not have confidence to offer you so great, and perhaps dangerous, a trouble, if I had not received encouragement to it from yourself, and by my observation of your zeal to the King's service: and that (if I flatter not myself too much) upon the same principles I go. Which though it was the first incitement to the honour I bear you, yet you have since so improved that inducement by personal obligations, which will always weigh something in the scale whilst we carry our earth about us, that I am (for all the reasons that can make me so)

Your Lordship's

Havre, Oct. 1,
1648.

most affectionate and most

humble Servant,

ORMOMDE.

Here inclosed is the draught of a letter from *George Lane*; which, if your Lordship find it convenient, be pleased to offer his Majesty.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

I HAVE taken hold of this opportunity, (though in great haste) to send you an extract out of a late print I received from *London*, which may not be unnecessary for your Lordship to be acquainted with. And thereupon

thereupon my humble advice is, that your Excellency shall do very well, by some publick act or means to declare how Col. *Jones* and *Owen O Neile* are joined; if it be true, as we have it here from several hands both from *England* and elsewhere; that it may thereby be evidently made appear who they are that are joined with the notorious rebels of *Ireland*. The Lord *Hatton* sends me word, that he hath a dispatch for you from the King; whereby his Majesty hath wholly granted what you conceived necessary to be dispatched and hastened after you. Lord *Hatton* having desired my assistance in conveying the same to your Excellency, I have by advice of your noble and solicitous Lady sent him word, that if he please to send the same hither to me, it shall be carefully sent you, and I hope to send it you by the first opportunity.

The Bishop and Mr. *Pluncket* are still at *St. Malo*, staying for their ship, which will be ready within 4 days to set sail. The Prince hath the small-pox in *Holland*; but (thanks be to God) in no great quantity, and he is upon recovery. The fleet is there still and will not stir, till the success of the Treaty be known; which I am very confident will not succeed: for the Houses have lately declared that they are not satisfied with the King's so exceeding large concessions concerning Episcopacy, but will have that article *in terminis*, and also all the Churchlands. I am sorry to hear, that there are still great distractions amongst P. *Charles's* Council. The particular quarrels and differences there, are not worthy your Lordship's trouble. I wish it were in my way to serve your Excellency, as is most passionately desired by

My Lord, &c.

Caen, Nov. 6, 1648.

430.

*Extract inclosed out of the Diurnal, Oct. 27,
1648, O. S.*

A.D. 1648

W A Letter was this day read in the House, coming from Col. *Jones* Governour of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, acquainting them that the Marquess of *Ormonde* was upon terms of concluding a peace with the rebels in *Ireland*; the Lord *Inchiquin* complying, and all to join together against Col. *Jones* and his party. That this design was hatcht in *England*, and carried on by the fomenters of the late second war in *England* and the Scottish invasion, and should have broke out at the same time, not without colour of a commission from his Majesty, but of an old date; He desiring the Houses would seriously consider it, and take some speedy course for the prevention of that total ruin, that is likely to befall the Protestants of *Ireland*.

The House of Commons upon debate hereupon, ordered that his Majesty should be forthwith desired to declare against the rebellion of *Ireland*, and against a truce with the rebels; and to require the Marquess of *Ormonde* to forbear his conjunction with the rebels against the Protestant forces; and that a message be sent to his Majesty to this purpose.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,


SINCE my former of $\frac{1}{29}$ *October*, understanding from the King, that he hath not any cypher of your Lordship's, as you lent me to write to his Majesty. I have sent him a copy of that I had from your Excellency; because I conceive that peradventure your Lordship (believing that his Maje-

fly hath received it from *Will. Legg*, as you told *A.D. 1648* me) might write in it to the King. Though it may be your Excellency may from *England* receive copies of what is hitherto passed at the Treaty, the same being (I hear) in print, yet I would not omit this opportunity to send you inclosed what I have received from thence.

It's advised me by a very good hand from the *Ile of Wight*, that the cry of most men with the King is, that they are like to be a lost Nation, if this Treaty be not successful: which, together with his Majesty's own inclination to the peace of the kingdom, hath made his Majesty's concessions so very large as you will find them. I likewise hear that the King sent the large proposition, (which though voted not satisfactory, I sent you in my former letter by *Mr. Fanshawe*) because his Majesty apprehended, if the Treaty should break upon any part of the Houses propositions, he should not otherwise have been able to make known what grants he intended upon the whole. Many who are at the Treaty are confident, there will be an agreement between the King and the Houses: but I cannot possibly believe it. For certainly the Independent party and the army will never yield to have a peace; whereby to take away all pretence of keeping on their army, which they hold to be their only security; for if that was once disbanded, the kingdom would soon dissolve the Parliament.

I presume your Excellency will make your agreement in *Ireland* with relation to the King, as what his Majesty shall grant without your knowledge, shall not reflect with prejudice to yourself or any of your party. I conceive that *P. Charles's* fleet will not put to sea, until his Highness be assured of the success of the Treaty at *Newport*: for if that succeed not, the seamen with him will be the more eager against the rebels ships; and the

Earl

A.D. 1648  Earl of *Warwick* and his seamen may perhaps abandon those who will not hearken to peace on so large concessions as the King hath offered. Sir *John Grenville* is (I hear) designed by *P. Charles* to be Governor of *Scilly*. Your Excellency's dearest friends and humblest servants in these parts begin to be in pain, that they have not yet received any certainty of your safe arrival and friendly reception in *Ireland*, which would be very welcome news to this place. By a letter of *Oæ.* $\frac{2}{3}I$, (which I even now received from *London*) one writes to me, that there was the night before a report, that the King was seized by the soldiery upon a pretence that there was a design to bring his Majesty to *London*. It doth certainly much concern many of the Commissioners Treators now at *Newport* not to dally; for (I am very credibly informed) they are by the prevalent party now ranked in the first branch with the greatest of Delinquents. God preserve and prosper your Excellency. So prays,

My Lord, &c.

Caen, Nov. 9.

O. S. 1648.

CHA. LEDISON.

Extracts from London, &c. inclosed in the foregoing Letter.

Lond. Oæ. 5. 1648.

THE Treaty (if it may be called so properly) is now reassumed: it was at a stand for a day or two, partly by reason of the fast, and partly while his Majesty sent up the inclosed, which the Commissioners instructions would not permit them to admit, being so tied for matter and manner as they cannot go out of their road. You will find a pretty large concession, when you peruse it, and the conclusion will tell you what acceptance it found,


found, only it expresseſſes not the ſcorn wherewith it A.D. 1648
 was rejected. I cannot be much ſorry for it, hop-
 ing they are infatuated to their own deſtruction; but
 muſt thence conclude, that nothing will ſatisfy
 them, but the rigor of their (propoſitions or rather)
 demands; ſo that his Maſteſty hath a hard choice,
 whether he will give away his Crown, or let them
 take it: and which he will reſolve upon, is not yet
 eaſy to inform you. Thoſe Lords and Gentlemen
 that are with him, are ſuch as had relation to his
 Perſon rather than his Family; as will appear by the
 liſt: which I conceive to have been the reaſon, why
 they were rather ſent for, than others which other-
 wiſe might poſſibly have been more ſerviceable. For
 the Treaty being perſonal, though they adviſe his
 Maſteſty when he calls them, yet there is no reſem-
 blance of a Council among them that I can hear of;
 which I gueſs to be the cauſe, why the Gentlemen
 of the Bedchamber were rather ſent for, than the
 like number of his Council, though the Lord Cham-
 berlain, &c. or any other Family Officers had been
 in the number.

And now for the field news; *Cromwell* in purſu-
 ance of his victory is entered *Scotland*, and be-
 ſiegeth *Berwick* very cloſely. Some ſay it is de-
 livered up, and that *Carlisle* is upon ſurrender;
 that *Lanerick* and *Monro* are upon terms of diſ-
 banding; and that a Parliament ſhall be ſummoned
 to begin very ſhortly, wherein none ſhall ſit, that
 had any hand in the *Hamiltonian* engagement. This
 I meet with upon hearſay, and that's all. The re-
 liſt of the *Engliſh* army is in *Cumberland*; againſt
 which the *Lancaſhire* forces are advanced: what will
 become of them I know not, but am very ſorry for
 their ſad condition. The garrifon in *Pomfret* caſtle
 hath made ſeveral ſallies, and ſome with ſo good
 ſucceſs, as they cut off the beſiegers foot-guards to
 a man. I believe the beſiegers are not many and
 all

A.D. 1648 all Presbyterians; which *Cromwell* leaves there on purpose to weaken that faction: and so likewise at *Scarborough*. And (as I take it) they are sensible of it; which makes them dispute his orders with some liberty; for which I believe they will now smart, though Sir *Henry Cholmley* was easily dismiss'd, being brought up last week for that fault.

Mitton has taken the Isle of *Anglesea* from my Lord *Byron*, and a great number of the Gentry of *North-Wales* in it. Old *Monro* is taken in *Ireland* by Col. *Monke*, with the assistance of the old Scots in *Ulster*, who were weary of their new brethren and countrymen: and with him the two garrisons of *Belfast* and *Carickfergus*. He was brought up prisoner on *Sunday* last to the *Tower*; and *Monke* is voted 500 *l.* for his good services. Some think that *Monro's* fee is far more than that comes to; and that he sold, rather than lost, those garrisons: and the presumption is partly grounded upon this, that the ship that brought him over, waited a fortnight in sight of one of those garrisons before the design was ripe.

The Committee at *Derby* house have sent Commissioners to *Windfor* to examine several prisoners; and particularly one Mr. *Holder*, that was in the nature of an Agent here for the Prince, though his particular affections led his endeavours chiefly towards Sir *Mar. Langdale*. I hear the like course is taken with Sir *Marmaduke*, and *Hamilton* likewise. The ground upon which they go, is chiefly Sir *Mar. Langdale's* letters, which were all taken; and some notes found in *Holder's* pockets. It's thought they will thereby discover many of the Presbyterian party, both in the City and Houses; which makes some labour tooth and nail with the King to grant all, and stand to the hazard of what may fall out hereafter. For it is clear to me, the Independent party will not be content with all though they have it;

it; their propositions being sent before they knew *A.D. 1648*
their own strength. 

London, Oct. 5, 1648. St. Vet.

News is here little and bad. The Treaty like to break in pieces; the Parliament and their two sister factions, like *Lot's* two daughters, both casting about and laying heads together; and all is but to abuse their father. They are now debating the Covenant with the King; I mean the damnation part of it, the swearing to it: for he hath already in effect given them all the contents of it; but that will not satisfy; nor is it enough to root up Bishops, but he must make oath he thinks them Antichristian. He offers them a short lease of no less than 99 years in the sacred lands: but the Houses scorn to write farmers; and those that they deal with will walk with the Crozier in their hands for ever, and entail the thrifty sacrilege to their issue so firmly, that not an heir of theirs to the worlds end may want a moth to fret his estate, and a worm to tear and dig up his conscience. The King did but motion mildly to come up to *London*, and the Houses took it so ill at his hands, that he should now think of being any thing but a prisoner, that it had like to have inflamed them into a vote of breaking up the Treaty. They lie upon the catch with him, and start new propositions every day.

Cromwell is within a way bit of *Edinburgh*; two miles distant at most. The Presbyters and he are at great amity, as loving as if they were both of one fold: so well doth a scurvy Religion and none agree. It hath been hot upon the Change, that *Lanerick* and *Monro* are upon articles to lay down their arms: but doubtless it is not yet stronger built than upon hopes and conjectures. If it proves so, 'tis no miracle: this action comes of a good family, and *Hamilton* and *Lanerick* being brothers, 'twere pity but

A.D. 1646 but their prowess should be akin. My Lord *Byron's* handful were formerly scattered by division; and now (they say) by the Enemy. We are grown extremely cunning in managing our ruin: and where we want strength to oppose us, we supply it by private distastes and clashings.

Warwick is neighbour to the Prince; and things are so prudently husbanded there, that had not *Van-Butterbox* stept in betwixt, the Prince's Navy had been soon reduced; but the *Hollander* counsels *Warwick* to forbear in their harbours, and advise him to take heed how he affronts the senior States.

Fairfax and his army is yet at *St. Albans*; and hath sent for 40,000 to the city.

Whaley is gone to demand the 11 Members and the impeached Lords from the House.

Hague, October 12, 1648.

The Prince of *Orange* hath commanded 14 good ships to the sluice: which passing by *Warwick's* fleet on Saturday, gave them neither gun nor sail, but gave the Prince's Admiral, as they passed by her, all their sails and five guns; which five she returned, and they gave her two more. At this *Warwick* is much discontented, and desired a meeting with my Lord *Willoughby* in a third ship, being a *Hollander*: which is consented unto.

Newport, October 7, 1648. St. Vet.

We shall to day conclude the proposition for religion, and offer such a moderate Episcopacy, Superintendency or Superiorship, or some such thing as they will name it, as may join in all things with Presbyters, and (we hope) content them, and save the Church-lands, and thereby the King's conscience in both respects.

London 19, October 1648.

I now hear that the Lieutenant General is still at
Edinburgh,

Edinburgh, and that all things are not so quiet in *Scotland*, as the prints say. A.D. 1644

The loss of *Anglesey* is said by some to be by the supine negligence of the officers, by others by the cowardice of the inhabitants. Lord *Byron* and others are said to be gone before for *Ireland*.

This last night Judge *Jenkins* was taken away from *Newgate* by a troop of horse ; I hear without order of Parliament : some think to consult with about their intended enterprize ; but 'tis certain they can expect no encouragement from him for such irregular and desperate undertakings as they daily vent in their petitions. By the next we shall be able to give a better account.

The trial of the Lord *Norwich* is much called for by the independent Commons : but not much done in it, nothing having past either House.

The head quarters likely to continue at *St. Albans*. The Commissary General *Ireton* is come to the House ; and it's reported that he will lay down his commission.

The Lord of *Warwick* hath sent for money and provisions, they have but slender thoughts of him here : it will be best for him to keep himself at Sea ; for his countrymen of *Essex* threaten death.

London, October 9, 1648. St. Vet.

For news, it is printed as fast as started. The treaty goes on ; yet few expect peace from it, tho' the King grants all they ask. The matter now in debate, is the excepted persons, who (I fear) will not find much favour. And after them, I fear the Church will be the evening sacrifice. All this is prest vehemently by those, who would be thought his Majesty's Friends : God grant they may prove so. The Houses are not content to go so slowly as his Majesty, (tho' some fear it is too fast ;) and thereupon have chosen a number of Judges, *Rolls* Chief

A.D. 1648 Chief Justice of the King's Bench, *St. John* of the Common Pleas, *Wilde* Chief Baron of the Exchequer, *Prideaux* Solicitor, &c. Yet the Lords demur upon *Rolls*, *Wilde*, &c. but to no purpose, if the other please. Sir *Thomas Widrington* is chosen a Judge, and so likewise is Mr. *Samuel Browne*; who is in such favour with the Lords, that they will needs prefer him to be Chief Baron, in despite of Serjeant *Wilde* and all his good service.

Cromwell is yet in *Scotland*, plotting with *Argyle*: and the design is carried so closely, as the *Kirke* men begin to be jealous; they are fallen out of the frying pan into the fire. *Leuiston*, the Governor of *Carlisle*, had some more sparks of a Gentleman in him, than *Lesley* had at *Berwick*, who left all the Gentlemen who had taken sanctuary there to the mercy of the enemy; while himself and all the jockies marcht out with bag and baggage. Yet I hear the other made tolerable conditions for those under his protection; namely, that all Gentlemen, that had been Commission Officers, might go beyond sea; and the rest have protections to live at home. Upon which terms also *Apleby* castle was surrendered; and so all is at an end in those parts: yet at *Pontefract* the Royalists are very active, and would be more, if they had hopes of relief. They are richer by three or four months provisions, than when the enemy sat down before it. They have made several sallies, and cut off the foot-guards, sometimes to a man; which makes the enemy now hold off, but still possess the town. *Rainsborough's* regiment was within five or six miles of it, to streighten the siege; but were commanded away, before they came nearer, to *Yarmouth*, as the order said; but they said themselves for *London*.

On *Thursday* the 5th present, that garrison had a party out on this side *Doncaster*, at the place called

called *Hatfield*; where they took 40 fat cattle, ^{A.D. 1644} and Sir *Arthur Ingram* (no lean one) and carried them all to the castle. The Tuesday after at night, Captain *Palden* beat up a horse quarter at *Hemsworth*, five or six miles from the garrison, where he took the most of Captain *Clayton's* troop; only himself had the good fortune to be absent. And about the same time, a party of 16 horse, charged and routed 140 of the Enemies horse, and killed and took several of them, with the loss of one (yet a gallant man) Dr. *Hall* a Clergyman, and a valiant active man in arms for that garrison, whose death is very much lamented. What a pity it is that they can expect no relief?

October 23, 1648. St. Vet.

News runs so low and dead, that I can scarce glean any thing worthy of the post, tho' he should move but once a week. *Cromwell* is returning from *Scotland*, where the courage of that nation was so consonant to its former chivalry, that *Veni, vidi, vici*, is all the chronicle the invader needs. *Carlisle* and *Berwick* are patiently surrendered, and doubtlessly *Edinburgh* too might have been had for asking. Such is the prowess of that hardy people, that a certain author is much inclinable to relate their doubtful feats and valorous proceedings in a piece of raillery: the story will not bear a serious muse. All that keeps off the attempt is, his ignorance of most particulars and passages in that action. It is a wonderful thing (and God's just judgment) that those that sold their King not two years ago for 200,000*l.* should now be sold for 2*s.* a piece, to be carried to new Plantations. You will think it strange, that men should be sold in *England*: but thus it is, I assure you.

I do not know (bating a garrison or two) any one sword drawn in the two Kingdoms, but what

A.D. 1646 comes out of an independent scabbard : such hath been the diligence and watchfulness of villany, and the supine carelessness or treachery in a good cause.

The treaty moves on, and successes have made it no longer a treaty, but a peremptory demand to sign propositions. The King is suffered to argue particulars : but he cannot abate a scruple of the full article, nor take off the least atom from the whole bulk : if he but offer to pare away any thing, tho' of never so mean concernment, his answers are presently voted null and unsatisfactory. This treaty possibly may conclude : but monarchy and religion must then conclude with it. The King (they say) is in a fair way to grant all.

The late successes have imboldened their usurpers at *Oxford*, to enter upon the preferments in Colleges there.

Paris, October 17, 1648.

What I foretold in my last of the people's being ill satisfied with the Parliament, hath now been manifested by their coming in a tumultuary way, and laying violent hands upon some of the Presidents, (who narrowly escaped their fury) and crying aloud for justice : whereby they have constrained them at their next meeting to give an arrest for the abatement of 58 sols upon the entry of every muid of wine, and have reduced another imposition of 16 *deniers pour livre* to 30 solz only upon every muid, and are now taking down the price of wood and coal ; and this, notwithstanding the Queen Regent sent them positive word, she would not consent to the abatement upon the whole city of *Paris* of above twelve hundred thousand Livres, which the Parliament have already far exceeded.

At Court, (which is now settled at *St. Germain's* for all this winter) the birth of a third daughter to the Duke of *Orleans* hath for the present silenced his demand of the Admiralty : instead of which

he pretends to the Sovereignty of *Roussillon*, and the Prince of *Conde*, besides the Admiralty, expects to be Sovereign of the Dutchy of *Bourbon*, and Governor of their new conquests upon the *Meuse*, infomuch, that at one of the late conferences, the Prince using high language in defence of royal authority, one of the Parliament Commissioners replied, it was they and not the Parliament that diminished it. So that we are here in possibility of seeing the Princes of the blood sharers in the Crown, and the Parliament servants to the People.

The siege of *Guise* proved not true: and the *French* army, thin in numbers, is for the most part retired into garrisons, in confidence that this declining season of the year will secure them from any great undertaking of the enemy.

The *Gens du Roy* are newly returned from *St. Germain*, with the consent of the Queen Regent, for the abating two millions a year upon the City of *Paris*, to be taken off as the Parliament shall find most reasonable, so that it is thought business will settle in an accommodation.

The Emperor hath consented to sign the treaty for the settlement of the Empire.

Galeret Pignerandas (Secretary) passing lately by this town from *Munster* into *Spain*, had several private conferences with Cardinal *Mazarin*.

Hague, October 5, 1648.

On *Thursday* night last came to *Rotterdam* Sir *Tho. Glenham*, Sir *John Marloe*, and 80 Gentlemen more who, came from *Berwick* the *Friday* before, and tell us that *Lodowicke Lesley* the Governor very civilly told them, that it would much trouble him, to be forced to deliver them, in case the Estates of *Scotland* enjoin him to give up the town to such as they should appoint; which he feared. Where-

A.D. 1648 upon they sent a Letter to the Earl of *Lanericke* to come into *Scotland*, who assured them it was not safe for them so to do; which caused their voyage hither. They say the Earl of *Lanericke* is marched with *Monroe* with 6000 horse and 3000 foot; 3000 of the horse being excellent good, as Sir *Gervais Lucas* doth assure us, who came yesterday from them. These marched to *Sterling*, where they fell upon *Argyle*, killed 150 of his men, defeated the rest, and now looks upon *David Lesley* who marched towards him from *Edinburgh* with 13000 men, but most unarmed, and have sent to him to retreat. *Cromwell* is yet before *Berwick*: *Lanericke* keeps *Sterling*, and the issue you must have by the next.

Warwick doth what he can to inveigle the Prince's seamen to him, by casting papers amongst them of large offers and promises of pardon and indemnity: but all will not do; for they are cordial and cheerful.

Paris, October 20, 1648.

We have here news, that for certain *Cromwell* and *Argyle* (being joined in *Scotland* near *Edinburgh*) are agreed with *Lanericke*; and that they have there indited or called a new Parliament: the which *Argyle* and the independent part of the Clergy there, resolve to make of their faction, and *Cromwell* stays thereabouts to give countenance to it.

The news of the Pope's Nuncio's being warned to quit *Ireland* within 15 days, hath rendered that party in this city much out of countenance.

The Queen Regent hath (at the importunity and tumults of *Paris*) remitted two millions of Livres payable by the *Parisians* on the wine imported thither; which for the present quieted them; but they begin again to call eagerly for the King's return thither.

Lord

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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A.D. 1643

Lord Hatton to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

YOUR Letters of the 26th of *September* and of the 1st of *October* last, may have seemed like corn thrown away or lodged in the grave. But this paper comes to present your Excellency with their harvest and resurrection, to send your Excellency verbal and yet real expressions of that excess of joy I conceived upon your acceptance of the tender of my services, and the encrease of it upon the return of some commands from you (of which I confess myself passionately ambitious) and the care that you are pleased to take of my safety, which makes me flatter my self, that your Excellency may esteem me (in the least degree) useful to you in future. Each of these were too large a field for me to enter, who much more prefer the least of your Excellency's occasions than whatever may concern myself, and had rather be adjudged unceremonious, (for a higher brand my actions shall never permit) than for my private advantage defraud the publick of the benefit it receives by each minute of your time. To hasten then to that account is due to your Excellency: I have performed all your commands, save one, and that is the care of my own safety: and I must crave your pardon, if I cannot conquer myself to submit to that, when your service is in competition. My journey failing, I applied myself by all means possible to compass your Excellency's desires, and I found myself so streightened by the consideration of the person I had to deal with, and the want of a Cypher, that I was constrained to adventure bare-faced, and put my name to it; and then to cast myself upon those persons with whom I durst trust my life. But

A.D. 1648 assure your Excellency in the faith of a Christian, I did not discourse to them the least circumstance that might have reflection upon your person or affairs; but they did then, and do still, believe it was that which concerned myself in the highest measure; and in my sense they are not deceived, for so I justly estimate my obedience and performance of your Excellency's commands. The copy of the letter I sent I have here enclosed, together with the answer to a tittle; that you may see I was not so bold to intermix any thing with your weighty affairs, nor made your service a pretence to gain advantage to act the least particular that might concern myself. I hope I did not mistake in representing the substance of what I sent at large in the paper your Excellency transmitted to me, and which I sent whither I could not go; and to the best of my apprehension, I did rightly state your desires. And by all that comes back to my view, the party to whom I writ, doth fully comprehend your affairs, and readily grant all you desired. I am confident the letter from him will be to your Excellency's satisfaction: and I presume there is that other within it, which was desired for that loyal, tho' injured person, that I presume is now with your Excellency, pursuing the same ends. And that your Excellency may see none shall be left out of my service, that are within your care, I have obtained the signature and return into my hands of those letters which concern the noble Knight, and your Excellency's faithful and diligent servant; towards both which you were pleased to command my service. When I had run thro' all the difficulties in getting them into my possession, I found somehow to convey them to your Excellency with that speed in (my thoughts) they required: and finding no opportunity here, or possibility to make one, I took the boldness (by an intimate friend of mine,

mine, where your noble and virtuous Lady resides) *A.D. 1648*
to acquaint her that I had letters for your Excellency of some importance, and humbly besought her assistance in advice and direction to speed them with safety to your hands. Her Ladyship, with an affectionate nobleness to your Excellency and the publick, sent me commands to convey them to her, who was pleased to undertake their further journey with care and secrecy. And now (may it please your Excellency) I deliver them as a tender parent would his affected child, attended with most affectionate wishes, that they may arrive safe to kiss your hands. In this degenerate age, (myself in the condition of a banished man and neglected cast servant, and your Excellency in a flourishing, and I hope encreasing estate) there want not standers by, that, if they knew them, would suggest my services, flatteries to you, and advantages to myself: but my own innocency and your noble heart free me from the jealousy or fear of such a censure from your breast. For know (my dearest Lord) I serve your person, not your fortune, which yet I wish answerable to your deserts. I look upon you as a person born (I hope, and verily believe) not only for a blessing to that kingdom where you are. Where I love not, or am not loved, I have ever taken so much liberty to neglect, that in my own breast (and I hope in the opinion of the world) I cannot be guilty of flattery in paying my duty. I have now learned here, by two years neglect and want of friends, to value so great an honour and happiness as your Excellency's friendship: and let me assure your Excellency in a plain English expression (in good faith) the Monarch, in whose territories I live in, cannot bestow upon me (even in my present condition) a more acceptable present than your Excellency hath bestowed upon me, that in your opinion, I serve my Master

A.D. 1648 upon the same principles you go. Were there no other expression in the honour of your letter to me, I would transmit it with my evidences to posterity; and I hope my son will share with me in the content and delight in such a character bestowed upon me by your Excellency's pen. I hope the infirmities or weaknesses, wherewith I have served you, shall not deprive me of the honour and pleasure of your further commands; I shall engage myself to your Excellency for diligence, secrecy, and integrity. And I dare boldly say, besides the person to whom I writ, and whose letters I return to your Excellency; no person either in that Court or this knows the least part of these transactions, nor shall; for whatever becomes of me, I shall take care all your commands shall by me be carried, as becomes affairs of that weight, in times of so much peril. I presume Mr. *Lane* will ease your Excellency of the trouble of these inclosed in cypher, which I am confident your Excellency will judge was not to be avoided; since, if I had not sent you these copies, I had not dealt with that clearness and openness as becomes me to your Excellency, whose eyes I heartily wish could read the characters of my heart. Though unwillingly, I shall now give over (for your ease) the honour and delight I have in this present conversation: and I cannot do it to my content without promising myself success in my humble suit to your Excellency, that only my infidelity or negligence shall discard me from your service; and then I shall go confidently on, and pray Almighty God to bestow upon you and your ways as many blessings, as can be conceived by the heart, or uttered by the tongue, of

*Paris, Nov. $\frac{1}{2}$,
1648.*

Your Excellency's, &c.

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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A.D. 1648

The King's Letter inclosed.

Newport, in the Isle of Wight, Oct. 28, 1648.

ORMONDE,

LEST you might be misled by false reports, I have thought fit by this to tell you my true condition. I am here in a treaty, but such a one, as if I yield not to all that is proposed to me, I must be a close prisoner, being still under restraint. Wherefore I must command you two things; first to obey all my Wife's commands; then not to obey any command of mine, until I send you word that I am free from restraint. Lastly, be not startled at my great concessions concerning *Ireland*, for that they will come to nothing.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

UNDERSTANDING even now of this conveyance by a sure means from *Havre de Grace*, I have presumed to send you inclosed a duplicate of my former, sent by the way of *S. Maló*, by Mr. *Fanshaw*, who writes to me that he is ready to go from thence for *Wexford* in a frigate, in company with Mr. *Plunket* the Lawyer, and of a Catholick Irish Bishop, whose name is *French*, being both lately come from *Rome*. But I have this day written to Mr. *Fanshaw*, to advise him by no means to go in that company, or for *Wexford*, lest when he comes there, he be detained, and his letters taken from him. I hope if my letter comes time enough to him, it will divert him, and make him either take some other vessel where he is, or come to seek his passage

A.D. 1648 passage at *Havre*, where there is now a ship that stays but for a wind.

Mr. *Fanshaw* writes to me, that Father *Bret*, (who is well affected to the King, and chief of the English Monastery at *S. Malo*) having spoken with the said Bishop and Mr. *Plunket*, tells him, that they expect to have in *Ireland* liberty of Religion, *i. e.* to have Catholick Bishops, Deans and Chapters, and all benefices in their own quarters; and that in the rest toleration be mutual: which granted by Prince *Charles*, and cautionary towns given them for their security therein, untill the King can confirm the same, then they say P. *Charles* in his Father's right shall enjoy all honours and support, due and fitting for the Crown. This (says Mr. *Fanshaw*) Father *Bret* wishes may be done suddenly and complied with, because there is certain advertisement come (says he) that *Owen O Neile*, Col. *Jones* and *Monke* are now avowedly joined, and Lieutenant General *Crommell* (as he conceives) lingers in *Scotland* to pour in a force that way upon the same combination. Father *Bret* also to Mr. *Fanshaw* touched something concerning having an Irish (at least a Catholick) Deputy; which he said would be most acceptable to the party of *O Neile*; and that Prince *Charles's* speedy personal repair to *Ireland* would be by them very much insisted on. This is what Mr. *Fanshaw* writes he had from F. *Bret*; but he intended to see and speak himself with the Bishop and Mr. *Plunket*; and by the next I expect to hear more of this from him. In the mean time I held it necessary to lay hold of this opportunity to advertise your Excellency of what (he saith) fell from Father *Bret*, that you may make use of it for your advantage in the King's service: and I hope you have by this time so fully and firmly concluded a peace there with those who are best affected to the King, as all the conjunctions.

junctions and designs of bad Catholicks and of the A.D. 1648
Protestants shall be prevented.

As for P. *Charles*, it is still advertised from *Paris* and *Holland*, that he shall winter in *Fersey*: to which purpose directions are sent him to put off as many of his followers as he can spare. And by my last from *Paris* I have it, that the Queen is also lessening her train: and that if she shall be able to secure to herself the payment of what is allowed her by this Crown for her maintenance, her Majesty will likewise go (as 'tis believed) to *Fersey*. It's most certain, that there are very great divisions in the Councils now with P. *Charles*; and the Queen, I suppose, is desirous (as she hath reason) to preserve her interest with P. *Charles*: which perhaps she doubts she shall not do so well, as by being continually with him.

I have it from a good hand, that there is lately advertisement come to the Queen from some in *England*, in whom (I hear) she confides, that unless the King shall at last grant all the propositions *in terminis*, without reserving the least point of honour or nicety of conscience, his life will be in danger, and there will be no living in *England* for any Lord or Gentleman. This, 'tis believed, was sent to the end the Queen might press his Majesty to do so.

The Duke of *York* is still designed to go with the fleet for *Ireland*, as soon as the ships go to sea; which will not be (I perceive) till the issue of the Treaty be known: for it's hoped by some, that the Earl of *Warwick* will, if that succeed not, join with P. *Charles*. All men marvel why Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* stays so long in *Scotland*: but most are of opinion, it is because the M. of *Argyle's* faction there is not so potent, as in *England* they voice it,

The

A.D. 1648

The welcome news of your Excellency's safe arrival in *Ireland*, and of the universal obedience that is there paid to his Majesty's authority now residing in your Lordship, doth very much joy all his Majesty's loyal subjects, and your Excellency's friends and servants here. I observe by it, that all the life and hopes of good to the King's affairs on that side is now, under God, wholly and almost solely consistent in your person: and therefore as his Majesty's and your Excellency's humble and faithful servant, I beseech you give me leave to conjure you, even for the publick good, to have more than ordinary care of your own preservation; against which doubtless there will be many wicked designs by those of both factions. I heartily wish I were able to contribute to your Excellency's service and prosperity more than by the earnest and fervent prayers of

Caen, Nov. 12,
1648, N. S.

Your Excellency's, &c.

P. S. I have even now received a letter dated Oct. 26, O. S. from *London*, that *Cromwell* is expected at a rendezvous at *Newmarket* about the $\frac{1}{2}$ of this month, being already advanced to the South of *York City*, and he hastens to countenance the breaking off of the Treaty with the King, or to render it unsuccessful.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

*I pray be pleased to do me the favour
to decypher this yourself.*

May it please your Excellency,

IT is advertised by good hands from *Holland*, that the seamen of the Prince's fleet have been lately in a great mutiny against *Batten* and *Gordon*, suspecting

pecting them to be Presbyterians and too well affected to the *Londoners*; whereupon they have left the fleet and are retired to *Rotterdam*: but the seamen are still entire in their affections to the King. The Lord *Willoughby* (whom they likewise fancy not) hath also quit them. Some say, they are very obstinate not to be commanded by any in chief, but by their own Lord Admiral the Duke of *York*. The Lord *Hopton* and Sir *Edw. Hyde* are lately sent to see if they can satisfy them; the seamen having (it's said) refused to be commanded by *P. Rupert*, who went to them upon *Batten's* leaving them. The truth is, the King's business goes not well any where but in *Ireland*: and I hope your Excellency will not by any unskilful order or commands from these parts be diverted from the ways you are in, or from your own resolutions and maxims. For indeed the small policies of our great Statists of *St. Germain's* are not very fortunate. If your Excellency receive any commands from the King upon the close of, or during the Treaty, I hope (but dare not presume to advise) you will demand time and a safe-conduct from the Houses to send some faithful person from yourself to speak with his Majesty (being still under restraint) before you execute any orders from him, which you conceive prejudicial to his Majesty's affairs especially entrusted with you.

From *Newport* it's advertised me by a singular good hand, that the Houses having pressed the King for his declaration against the M. of *Ormonde*, his Majesty refused it, saying, that having passed the proposition of *Ireland*, he conceives that sufficient, and will make it good if the Treaty end in peace. I hear from *Paris*, that the Queen sent not long since an express to the King, to advise him to grant whatsoever the Houses insisted on; but his Majesty hath not totally quitted the Church, though he

A.D. 1648 hath reserved very little of it. By this my freedom
 your Excellency sees my confidence, and that I may
 not be subject to any other censure, I pray burn this
 and conceal;

My Lord, &c.

Caen, Nov. $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁶, 1648.

Ditto to Ditto.

May it please your Excellency,

BY this dispatch your Lordship will receive from your noble Lady a letter from Lord *Hatton*, with letters from the King, whereof my former gave your Excellency notice. Though I have in my several dispatches given you the trouble of many tedious advertisements, I would not omit by this opportunity to make this addition. The inclosed papers and extracts will acquaint your Excellency with all the freshest news, I have received since my former letters either from *England*, *Paris* or *Holland*: and albeit I will not be surety for the truth of all that is sent me, or that I thus deliver out to your Excellency, yet I assure you I would not willingly give you the trouble of any thing that I do not receive from such hands, as have credit with others as well as myself. From a person of honour I have it from *Newport*, that the King hath now gone through all the propositions; and I conceive he hath thereupon yielded to pay the greatest ransom that ever was paid. But (I hear) his Majesty, and those with him give for a reason of it, that nothing is to be binding, prejudicial, or made use of, unless all be concluded; and that when there shall be by this means a good understanding created between his Majesty and his two Houses, means will be found to make the King glorious and the

the people happy ; which God grant. But I confess, I want faith as well to believe it as to comprehend how such concessions can be the way to good either for King or people. A.D. 1648

Mine of Nov. $\frac{1}{17}$, from *Newport*, bring me no other news than is contained in the inclosed prints. By a letter of the $\frac{1}{20}$ present, from Mr. *Fanshawe* from *St. Malo*, I understand that he is still there, but hoped to embark himself the next day, together with Mr. *Plunket* and the Bishop, who are impatient of their long stay there, fearing that the Treaty will be concluded in *Ireland* before their arrival. I am still of opinion, that the Treaty in *England*, though prolonged, will not succeed. If it shall, then I am confident the army will interpose, and render the agreement much more moderate and honourable both for the King and his party ; and particularly in point of the Church and Religion. But this is only my single fancy, and upon this ground, that if they intend it shall be a lasting peace, they will endeavour by a sweeter hand to be reconciled to those they have so much exasperated, and must in conclusion either live withal or totally destroy.

God bless your Excellency in all your noble proceedings, and wherein I may possibly be in any thing serviceable to your Lordship, I humbly beg the honour of your commands to,

My Lord, &c.

Caen, Nov. $\frac{1}{20}$, 1648.

Extracts in the foregoing Letter.


Hague, Nov. 3, 1648. St. Vet.

MONDAY the 23^d of *October* was spoiled the Lord *Culpeper's* face ; which was thus. Prince *Rupert* having moved the Council, that Sir *Robert*

A.D. 1648 *Robert Walsh* would give 3000 *l.* to Prince *Charles*, and 2000 *l.* to Prince *Rupert* for the Prince's service for a sugar prize, which was taken whilst the fleet lay in the Downs, it was settled; and accordingly Sir *Rob. Walsh* endeavoured to procure the money by the Irish Agent here: but nothing being done, the business was again called upon at the Council. Prince *Rupert* told them, he wondred at the resuming of a business, which had been settled before by their own order to Sir *Rob. Walsh*. The Lord *Culpeper* said, Sir *Robert* was a shark and a fellow not to be trusted. Prince *Rupert* replied, Sir *Robert* was his friend, and he must acquaint him with what was said; and his Lordship must not think to meet Sir *Robert*, but with his sword in his hand, he being a Gentleman and a soldier. Lord *Culpeper* told Prince *Rupert*, he had rather meet him with his sword in his hand, than *Walsh*, for he was a shark. Prince *Rupert* told his Lordship 'twas malice, for *Derby* house business: but his Lordship answered, he had no more correspondency with *Derby* house than himself; and so the Council rose, and afterwards reconciled these two, not taking notice of *Walsh*. Next morning Sir *Robert* met Lord *Culpeper* in the street, and told his Lordship he had abused him and deserved that, giving him several blows on his face with his fist, whereof his Lordship still keeps in.

London, November 1st 1648.

The Treaty is lengthned 14 days, which will be expired to-morrow fortnight. The Houses have sent for their Commissioners to come up and give an account as they desired; three only continuing at *Newport*. The Duke of *Richmond* is here upon private business, but returns the latter end of this week.

A general Council of War of all Field-Officers is *A.D. 1648* to be at *St. Albans* or *Windsor* the 8th present.  Commissary *Ireton* hath only laid down his Commission, there being no action for the present ; but may again take it up if required. The Lieutenant-Gen. is expected at the Council of war, where, and when it will be known, what the Kingdom may expect from the army.

The Lord *Capell* is removed from *Windsor* to the *Tower*.

The Citizens have advanced 4000 *l.* more for the Treaty.

London, 1st November 1648.

The army draws very near this town, being now quartered at *Knights-bridge*, and all other neighbouring places : 'tis not yet known what the grand Council of war will do.

We have it from the head quarters this day, that Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* hath made his escape ; so that there is none in custody of the seven excepted persons, but Judge *Jenkins*. 'Twas hard pressed, that the Earl of *Derby* should have been in the place of Sir *Richard Grenville*.

Yesterday was the critical day of the new delinquents for this last summer's undertakings ; but carried by almost 20 votes, that the Treaty should not be burthened with any addition. This day they are upon banishment : 'tis said it will extend only to the seven.

A great rumour we have of the surrender of *Dublin* : if it be not, 'tis much feared here.

London, Nov. 1, 1648, O. S.

Information came this day to the House of Col. *Rainsborough's* being murdered ; and after this manner. Three Gentlemen came to his lodgings pretending they had letters from Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* ; which occasioned him to let them in-

A.D. 1648 to his chamber. They were no sooner in, but they drew him down stairs, and (as it is said) would have carried him to *Pomfret*: which he refusing they stabbed him to death. This being considered, with the discovery of a design to take away the lives of 80 eminent active men for Parliament, and that there was cause to think the Parliament were not secure in the present state; it was moved that a regiment of horse, and one of foot, of the army come up for their security: but it was not consented unto, those that now do that work being thought more fit.

Nov. 2. 1648, O. S.

The death of *Rainsborough* is most remarkable, being slain in his quarters in the town of *Pomfret*, and none endeavouring to rescue him or lay hold of the persons, though it were done in the day. Some say it was done by some from the castle; others by some of *Cholmely's* men, betwixt whom there was a great falling out. The thorough-paced Independents are much startled at it; they not confiding in the Lieutenant-General, and depending on *Rainsborough* for their leader.

I was yesterday at *St. Albans* (the present head-quarter) where I find a great jealousy and suspicion in every man; the Independent and Leveller not daring to trust each other. There was an express from the Lieutenant-General, that he and most with him were resolved to stand to the engagement at *Newmarket*.

The difference between the General Officers will be nothing: which troubles the wild party of Levellers; for they endeavour to disengage all, as appears by several prints this week, wherein they blast both the General, the Lieutenant-General, and the Grandees of the Houses.

Col. *Ashburnham* was taken: but is set at liberty by the mediation of friends,

'Tis believed the Treaty may begin anew after their *A.D. 1648*
Commissioners have given an account of their several debates, and that the King's resolution not to condescend further shall be weighed: and this for self-preservation.

Scarborough-Castle hath made several sallies to very good purpose; but I cannot relate the particulars.

The Mayor and Sheriffs of *London* this year are thought to be pretty honest and moderate men. *Raynoldson* is Mayor, one that never engaged himself in any Committee or Office for the Parliament. *Browne* and *Viner* are Sheriffs. The last Mayor died on Friday last of spitting blood: had he died the first day of his Mayoralty as he died the last, every drop he spit would have saved 20 mens lives, to speak at least.

The Declaration of his most Christian Majesty the King of France and Navarre, against the most horrid proceedings of a rebellious party of Parliament Men and Soldiers in England against their King and Country.

Translated out of French by P. B.

LEWIS XIV. *by the Grace of God, &c.*

WHEREAS we are informed by our dear Aunt the Queen of *England*, of the distressed state of the King her husband, forced upon him by a rebellious party of his meanest subjects under the command of the Lord Baron of *Fairfax*, who is likewise countenanced by a small handful of the basest of people, crept into the lower House of Parliament, but being not the tenth part thereof, the worthiest being imprisoned or banished by the tyranny of the army, have a design to proceed against the person

A.D. 1648 and life of their King: which is an action so detestable, and so destructive to the national Rights of Princes, and People, who are like to be enslav'd thereby, and to know no Law but that of the Sword; that we may conceive ourselves obliged by the Laws of God and man in the duty of a Christian, as well as in the right of a King, either to redeem from bondage the injured Person of our neighbouring King and Uncle, or to revenge all outrages already done, or hereafter which may happen to be done thereupon; therefore with the advice of our Mother the Queen regent, and Council, we do publish and declare our detestation of all such proceedings, and vow in the presence of God and his holy Angels, a full revenge of all actors or abettors of this odious design to the utter extirpation of them, their wives and children out of all parts of Christendom, wherein our power or interest can prevail if they proceed to this damnable fact; we conceiving it fit to root out from human society such a spurious and impious generation of men; and we do therefore prohibit all such persons, their wives and children to come into any of our Dominions, unless they will be proceeded against as traitors to God and nations: and we do likewise invite all our neighbouring Kings and Princes, and States, in amity with us or with whom we have any difference, to an honourable peace, that we may all join in God's cause and our own, to revenge the hypocrisy of enraged villains, who we hear do take the cause of God for their pretence to destroy his ordinance, and we desire all neighbouring Kings, Princes and States to make the same proclamation we have done against any of these or their adherents from coming to their Territories, that when by God's justice and ours and others endeavours, they shall be chased out of their native country, they may wander like vagabonds in heathen places with the odious brand of regicides

cides upon them; and further, to consider, whether if the like madness took any of their armies, they would not employ our help, as now this afflicted Queen and Aunt of ours has occasion to do theirs against persons who are now twice rebels, first, against their Sovereign upon pretence of reformation of Government, and now against the very men and authority which raised them for that pretended occasion; wherein God's justice is so apparent, that we are confident he will bless this work intended by us, and (we hope) will be seconded by all persons of honour and justice both at home and abroad, to help to suppress these rebels against their raisers, who yet presume upon the success of their army to assert their own base thoughts and fortunes above the limits of religion or reason, to suppress that authority which God hath set on them.

Signed LEWIS.

BRIENNE *Secretary of State.*

Subscribed at Paris, January 2d, 1649.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.


May it please your Excellency,

HAVING since my former received from the Hague, certain assurance that the Fleet which hath been so long preparing is now at sea, (as by the inclosed extract of the ²/₉ of the last month you will perceive) I held it most necessary to give your Excellency notice of it; tho' I hope the ships will be in Ireland as soon as, if not before this. I have likewise sent you what I have last received from England, where there is so prodigious horrid practices and villanies against our gracious Sovereign, as

A.D. 1648 render all honest men even distracted with a detestation of the barbarousness of them.

The troubles and distractions in this kingdom increase daily and very fast; for tho' those of this nation are not so great strangers to the miseries of civil wars, as ours were before these times, and that they have before their eyes a sad and deplorable example of popular insurrection in our miserable nation, yet they are here as eager upon rebellion against their Governors and Government as ever our wretched English were. And the contrivers of the present rebellion in *England* did not more directly tread in the steps of the league in *France*, than these here do trace our covenanters in all their acts and proceedings; which doubtless is a great judgment of God upon them. The intercourse between *Paris* and *Rouen* is already cut off; the post not being permitted to pass: and we doubt the commerce between this place and *Rouen* will last no longer than until the Count of *Harcourt* shall gather forces (which he is raising) to ly between this place and *Rouen*; so as I conceive your Excellency will do best to send your dispatches for us here by the way of *S. Malo*, the passage between that and this town being most likely to be longest free. It's said that neither *Havre* nor *Honfleur* are yet declared: but it's believed the first will be for the King and Queen regent, and it's doubtful whether the latter will be for the Parliament or no, notwithstanding the Duke of *Longueville*, Governor of *Normandy*, be since my last to your Excellency got into and well received in *Rouen*, where he is raising of forces with all possible industry.

I have even now received a letter from *Rouen*, that for certain, all the fleet hath been at sea under *P. Rupert* above these eight days. God prosper them

them and bless your Excellency's noble endeavours *A.D. 1648*
in his Majesty's affairs with all happiness : so prays, 

Caen, Feb. 1,
N. S. 1648.

My noble Lord, &c.

E. NICHOLAS.

430.

*Extracts sent inclosed in Sir E. NICHOLAS'S
Letter.*

Hague January 11, 1649. N. S.

THE Duke of York went from hence Wednesday last towards *France* with a small train, having dismissed off his servants.

The Prince having reduced his family, intends to retire speedily to *Breda*, a town belonging particularly to the Prince of *Orange*, and which affords him a considerable revenue, which (they say) he will assign for his Highness's maintenance. It joins to *Flanders*, which will yield some advantage in a nearer correspondence with the Duke of *Lorraine*, who has very great affections for the King and Prince's service.

The Lord *Hopton* is just now returned from the fleet, and hath left the sloops in so good forwardness, that it's hoped they will put to sea all of them (except the *Antilope*) before this can come to your hands. Prince *Rupert* for the better manning of the ships, hath placed a good number of land soldiers in them, and entertains about 200 Dutch mariners. We hope Prince *Rupert* (who commands them) will not be long from *Ireland*, whither he is directly bound; the arrival of the fleet being looked upon as the most extraordinary means to encourage the Marquess of *Ormonde*, and by the reputation of it to facilitate his great work.

A.D. 1648 The Lord *Lauderdale* embarked this day for *Scotland*, whither he is gone with all possible confidence: and tho' he is not departed from any one of his principles, but is as rigid a Presbyterian as ever, yet he hath left in many a great expectation of doing wonders for the King in that kingdom.


Hague, January 19, 1649. N. S.

At last the fleet is out; a squadron of six frigates having been at sea ever since Friday morning, very well manned and in as good order as could be hoped. The seamen at their going out void of their old temper of mutinying, and promised by their carriage as much fidelity and obedience as was required from them.

Prince *Rupert* (who commands the whole fleet) is yet behind, and purposes to go in the *Constant Restoration*, Sir *John Mines* in the *Swallow*, and Sir *Richard Fielding* in the *Convertine*; the which three great ships, with some other small vessels, are yet in the harbour; but in so great readiness that as soon as an hundred men (which are already entertained in *Zeland* and sent for) come to the ships to man them compleatly, they go out after the rest, and (if the wind change not much more than it has already this day) we are confident they will be at sea within eight and twenty hours.

The six frigates that are out are under the command of Commissary *Allen*, who roves up and down the sea-coasts to meet with some purchase, till the great ships go out: and then they all steer for *Ireland*, where they have been a great while expected. The reputation of this fleet there, (as the Marquess of *Ormonde* has discreetly managed it) having advantaged his business: and 'tis hoped their presence will perfect it; the King's affairs there being in a very good condition, as the Marquess of *Ormonde* sayeth by letters of the second of the last.

Prince *Rupert* gives a great character of Lord
Inchi-

Inchiquin's fidelity and demeanour in that whole *A.D. 1648*
business. 

From the *Hague*, Feb. 9, 1649. N. S.

I told you in my last of the happy getting of our fleet out to sea, of which it hath not been possible to hear any thing since their departure; the wind having been ever since so strong and contrary: only your friends the Merchants of *Rotterdam* are in a pitiful case for fear of their fleet, (being about 12 vessels) which by accident put to sea from the *Brill* the same tide the Prince did from the *Sluce*, and two of them returned back the same night with a very sad story, That they left the rest within shot of the Prince's fleet; and if that were true, you may judge what mercy they found notwithstanding their convoy of three Dutch men of War. Besides this relation, we hear from *Calais* that his Highness fell into the *Downes*, and there possessed himself of a navy-ship which is said to be the *Leopard*; and what other work he made among the merchant-men he found there I cannot tell you, but certainly he is arrived in *Ireland* with very much wealth and much increased in force. The *Hamburgher-Prize*, of which I advertised you in my last, is so gallant a ship, being 300 tuns, that the Prince hath made a man of war of her, and hath removed Captain *Brathwaite* from the *Charles* to the command of this new ship, in favour of Captain *Allen* who is now a Prince in the command of that excellent frigate.

We have had no news from *England* this fortnight: which doth very much trouble us, the last letters leaving the King in a very sad condition.

A Copy of a Letter from a well affected Person to the Parliament to his Friend in France, dated January 8th 1648.

WE resolve the King must presently be dispatched; and honest Mr. *Peters* told us yesterday
at

A.D 1648 at St. *James's*, honest fellow-soldiers, before I come to you again in this place, ye shall see the work done for which ye were brought hither.

Our great friends say, Thursday the King shall die and two or three Lords with him; *Capell* and *Loughborough* being two of them. *Goring* hath gotten *Ireton* to friend who excuses him yet. Our chief evidence (we think) against the King is Duke *Hamilton*.

This afternoon the Committee, named for trial of the King, assemble in the Painted Chamber to name time and place for the trial, which then is to be proclaimed by Trumpet in the Palace-yard. If it be *Windfor*, then to-morrow they go: and if the King will answer, Wednesday he shall have for it, and as long as the business within a month will require: otherwise Wednesday he must prepare to suffer the next.

Whether the endeavours that are used by single persons of the King's and Scottish party, and are intended farther by some Lords of the King's Council now in this City, to prevent this proceeding will have any effect I cannot tell: but suppose they will be frustrate, because our Counsels run all for the following of Providence by present dispatch, and will not endure any mediations; no, nor hear again of *Ireton's* proposals, viz. *That it were perhaps safer to have the King live prisoner, for to dispose him a while to abandon his Negative, to part from Churchlands, to abjure the Scots, &c.* And perhaps you will not think it impolitick for our friends to amuse the King with an opinion that he shall not die; because they are lulled asleep thereby and 'twill be too late to kick when the blow is given. The apprehension whereof (I see) works a great sadness and dejectedness in those of the King's party with whom I converse, being persons whom for the most part
we

we love, and consort with better than the Presbyterians. *A.D. 1648*

We have had a consideration how to pen some new order for banishing all persons obnoxious to us from this City, whether they have compounded or not; for if the House adjourn, (as I am told it will) there must be caution had, that the City fall not into disorder, as perhaps they may now the King is thus to be cut off.

We have a new great Seal graving which will be inscribed, *The great Seal of the Commons of England*, and shall bear date the first year of their freedom. Writs are to run in the same stile.

London, January $\frac{11}{21}$, 164 $\frac{8}{9}$.

On Thursday last Proclamation was made by sound of Trumpet at the *Exchange*, at the Palace-yard in *Westminster*, and in *Cheapside*, to give notice that the great Committee for trial of the King were to sit in the Painted Chamber to receive accusations against the King on Wednesday: when they accordingly sate, but there came nothing in that day; so they called the Committee and adjourned until to-morrow.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

SINCE my former to your Lordship, I have received from *London* the advertisements inclosed, which I held necessary to acquaint you with, and hope this will come time enough to overtake my former dispatch. The intercourse between this town and *Rouen* begins already to be so much interrupted, as I conceive it requisite again to renew my former advice, that your Excellency will rather send your dispatches to this place by the way of *S. Malo*; tho'

A.D. 1648 tho' I hope your correspondent at *Havre*, may find means to send yours sometimes safely hither. There is now here a strong report that there are very earnest endeavours using for an accommodation, and that the King and Queen regent will appoint a certain number to meet with an equal number of others to be appointed by the Parliament of *Paris*; and it's believed it will be agreed that all differences shall be referred to be determined by an assembly of the three States of this kingdom; which I wish but cannot affirm to be a truth; for then we Refugees have the better opportunity and season to remove to some quieter place than *France* is like to be, if there be not a speedy accommodation, which I assure you I do not believe it is possible to make; the people here being all generally disaffected to Government, and great Assemblies have rarely peaceable effects. I much doubt that the prevalence of the popular factions at *Paris* will render the rebels at *Westminster* the more obstinate.

I have by this post had no letters from *Holland* or any other place; so as I cannot add to what I send your Excellency inclosed any thing but an humble assurance that I am most passionately and sincerely,

Caen, Feb. 4,
1648.

My Lord, &c.
430.

The Advertisements inclosed.

London Jan. 18, O. S. 1648.

THE Grandees refuse yet to speak with his Majesty, as they did to the Lords: but it is hoped that a way will be found to preserve the King's Life, by putting forward the necessity of seeing the future Government settled, ere the present be taken away.

But

But in the mean time the term is adjourned. *A.D. 1648*
The scaffolds are preparing in *Westminster-Hall* for the trial, and all other circumstances ordering, as if no redemption were to be expected from the jaws of this death.

The time and manner for the King's bringing from *Windsor* is kept private. But the barge and water preparations now making ready, make men think his Majesty shall come that way : and a man interested in the Castle at *Windsor*, says, it will be Saturday or Sunday in the night. Sir *Robert Cotton's* house is making ready to receive his Majesty, who must pay reverence to the Court, or have his hat pluckt off to give them it, when he shall be brought up.

There is news come to town, that 12 ships of the Prince's (great and small) are in *Yarmouth* road, and that one great ship, worth 40,000*l.* in piece-goods and silver, bought at *Hambourg*, for traffick of the *East-India* Company to the *East-Indies*, is taken by them, and another of like value ran ashore, or else had been taken : which makes a great disturbance here among the Merchants ; and were it not for the success of the people at *Paris*, would give a memento of mortality to the Rulers of this *Israel*.

The Ministers of this City seem all resolved to protest against the proceedings concerning the King, as unwarrantable by the word of God and the Laws.

The *Scots* (tho' their papers were not received, because not indorsed to be communicated to the Commons, but only directed to the Speaker who declines also the trial) speak aloud for their King. If foreign Ministers would come and do their parts, perhaps the weight of reason against so unparallelled an action, would strike the deeper sense into the present actors.

A.D. 1648

Letter of Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

I pray your Excellency to decypher this yourself.

ALBEIT I doubt not but the Lord Digby (who is nearer the fountain, and best acquainted with the designs and intrigues of those, who in *France* steer his Majesty's affairs) hath now by his intimate servant, Mr. *Walsingham*, fully imparted to your Excellency the grounds and secret motives of the dispatch he brings you ; yet in duty to the King, my dear Master's service, and in true and humble affection to your own person, I cannot but offer to your more prudent consideration what occurs to me upon the business that Mr. *Walsingham* himself (I hear) speaks to be his present errant ; which is, that he carries instructions and orders to your Excellency from the Queen, that since the Rebels in *England* do now apparently proceed with much wickedness and violence to destroy the King's Person, her Majesty would not that your Lordship should stand so stiffly with the Irish Catholicks upon so strict conditions in matter of Religion, as (it seems) your instructions from the King bear. As such advice or instructions cannot (I humbly conceive) consist with the orders and directions your Excellency hath from the King in that point, (and on which only you can rely for your warrant) so I humbly offer it to your own judgment, whether those now sent may not be procured by some busy Papist about the Queen, in order to the Papists design now on foot in *England* ; which I mentioned to your Excellency in mine of *January* 1st last ; whereupon Mr. *Winter Grant* and Sir *John Winter* are already gone into *England*, and Sir *K. Digby* was labouring to follow : and if

your

your Excellency shall now at last be induced by *A.D. 1648* commands, (not from the King himself) to condescend that Papists shall be presented to benefices in that Kingdom, and such other unreasonable concessions as the Nuncio and his party insisted on in the former treaty, whether you will not by yielding thereto justify that they had reason to break (as they did upon the Marquess of *Worcester's* suggestions) their former agreement. But your Excellency will not swerve from your own pious principles, and will very much satisfy all good Protestants, as well in *England* as *Ireland*.

Wherefore in confidence of your Excellency's concealing me, I presume humbly to offer to your consideration, that since Mr. *Walsingham* is well known to be on that side, and hath been observed to be a great babbler of all his most secret employments, hath already here spoken of the same (tho' not a word to me) and it's probable will be no less silent in it when he shall come on that side, that as soon as he arrives your Excellency would receive from him all that he hath to deliver or say to you, and then (if you like not his employment or busy humour) instantly send him back a ship-board, with an answer to the Queen, by a servant of your own to accompany him, without giving him leisure or opportunity to communicate his business; which if he shall divulge, (as I doubt it will be impossible for one of his humour to conceal it from his jesuited friends) he may perhaps do no less prejudice to your present treaty (if it be not before his arrival finished, as I hope it may be) than the M. of *Worcester* formerly did: which I doubt not but your Excellency will by your wisdom prevent, and in your goodness pardon this presumption in him, who is most passionately and really,

Caen, Feb. 18.
1649.

My LORD, &c.

430.

Adver-

A.D. 1648

*Advertisements inclosed.*

*Extract of a Letter from the Hague, dated
the first of February 164⁸/₉. N. S.*

THE Embassador (Monsieur *Paw*) is this day gone for *London*, upon the Memoir delivered to the States General by Prince *Charles*, whereof you have a copy.

Prince *Rupert* and the whole Fleet is now at Sea.

What I told you in my former of our care of *Ireland* is precisely truth. I believe we have omitted nothing in our powers that way, and I am very confident the corn was sent thither, as I formerly advertised you; for a very honest Merchant here (whom you know) undertook it, and did send it accordingly.

Hague, February 2, 1649.

On Sunday last his Highness set sail with the three great ships, the *Ginny Frigate* (which brought in the good prize, and now carries her out again, tho' the Merchants of *Rotterdam* (to whom she belongs) were treating about her, and would have given 2000 *l.* composition,) the *Thomas* (which the night before brought in a vessel worth above 3000 *l.*) and some small ketches; the rest of the *Frigats* being abroad and appointed to meet them at *Scilly*. In this posture, and with this force, his Highness steered away with a resolution to fall into the *Downs* first, where he was informed there were but three ships of war besides several merchant-men; and if he found this intelligence true, there is no doubt but he made an excellent business of it: if otherwise, he resolved to keep his course and to call in at *Milford-Haven*, where there rides three or four frigats and ships. By the way, it is probable,
he

he may meet with more purchase, and arrive rich *A.D. 1648*
in *Ireland*, where his presence in that equipage will
be of great consequence, and we hope will suddenly
render that Kingdom in a capacity to receive us
all.

Yesterday the Embassadors went hence towards
Vlushing to take shipping for *England*; there being
none of their men of war ready in these parts. The
night before they went, they came to take their
leaves of the Prince, and made extraordinary pro-
fessions to him of their affections and diligence in
the negotiation; of which truly we expect some
good fruits: and in the mean time the Prince of
Orange, out of his great bounty and care of the
Prince's Family, now in their extream poverty,
hath taken a list of the servants remaining upon
this last reducement, and hath settled on them a
certain allowance of board-wages according to the
rate he allows his own servants, which will be paid
them by Monsieur *Henflet* justly and constantly.

These late frosts have much purified the air here,
and the fiery and most barbarous proceedings of
the Rebels in *England* have as much rectified these
People's minds and inclinations towards us.

London, January 22, 1648. O. S.

The King was unexpectedly brought on Friday
to St. *James's*, and next day afternoon (by an order
from *Whitehall*, (that morning to hasten the business
so much) within the Bar of the (so called) High
Court of Justice in *Westminster-Hall*: where coming
without stirring his hat, the Court neither rose nor
moved any of theirs, which (they agreed) had he
given them civility, they would have done, be-
cause as yet but accused, not condemned; yet
some would have had him presently to have been
deposed.

A.D. 1648

The charge was read, being but in substance one article, that the King had levied war, &c.

Bradshaw's and *Cooke's* deportment was extreme bold ; the King's magnanimous and kingly, questioning their authority, and smiling when it was said, they represented the whole People of *England*.

The King's and *Bradshaw's* interlocutions in short were but, his Majesty insisting to know their power, and to give them wholesome admonition in language very kingly, smooth and pious ; and the others demanding whether he would answer ; for which the Court would give him time till Monday, and so remanded him to his lodging at *St. James's*.

The King desired to have the Bishop of *London* : and he is sent for accordingly.

This day his Majesty was again brought within the Bar of the said Court, and in effect insisted on the same point as before. His abode was but a quarter of an hour. *Bradshaw* said that next day he should hear the judgment of the Court ; so as it is expected that to morrow sentence will be given. His Majesty holds it up with an unbroken courage. He lodges, for ought can be gathered to the contrary, this night at *Sir Robert Cotton's*.

London, January 25, 1648. O. S.

All the King's admired responsals at the new Court's Bar are in print. Yesterday and this were spent in examining witnesses ; which proceeding seems so needless, that it is conceived a relenting, and so it may be, considering how Divines, Lawyers, City, Country, and Strangers manifest an abhorring of so great and unpresidented an action, as taking the King's life away on any, much more on these slender causes.

We have much discourse in town of the General, Major General *Skippon's*, and other Officers disaffection in that point also.

Here

Here are two Dutch Embassadors daily expected *A.D. 1648* with errands to dissuade what is now doing. It may be God will turn yet the hearts of those who are about it: which we most earnestly pray he would.

We hear Prince *Rupert* makes notable work upon the coast: and it may be that the turning out of all the old Masters of the Trinity-house may occasion a dearth of seamen; if those that govern here shall have use for them.

Rouen, February 10, 1649.

A servant of the Lady *Sidley's* newly arrived from *England*, tells us, that on Friday was se'nnight his Majesty was brought to *Westminster*, and lodged at Sir *Robert Cotton's* house; and the next day was brought along that dark entry (the Serjeant at arms carrying the Mace before) to the King's Bench Bar, where he sat down in an ordinary chair provided for him. Neither *Bradshaw* nor the rest stirred their hats, nor the King his, but pulling it down close to his head, turned up the fore brim, and turning himself about, looked upon all without the least apprehension of fear.

The judges appointed were asked by his Majesty, why and by what authority they sat there? They replied, he should know that anon, and so read the charge against him: to which they requiring his answer, he with infinite courage returned, that it did not besit him to answer them.

After many speeches made by *Bradshaw*, *Steel*, and *Cooke*, against his Majesty, because he would not answer, *Bradshaw* yelled out the words, *My Lords and Gentlemen, this man you see refuseth to give any answer at all to the accusation that is brought in against him, so as his silence doth sufficiently testify his guilt, and therefore keeper (Col. Hewson) take your prisoner into your charge, and look that you*

A.D. 1648 keep him safe. And so his Majesty was conveyed
 to Sir Robert Cotton's house again.


The Sunday after *Peters* preached at *Whitehall*, and spake old *Simeon's* words, *that he had seen his Salvation*, that is, Kings in fetters and Princes in chains. The same day one preached in *St. Peter's Cornhill*, that said, *All the City was guilty of this treason, and if he should hold his peace, he was as guilty as Bradshaw.*

This man reports that he did not see this trial; but that he had these passages from a Captain of the Rebel's side, who was both an eye and an ear witness of them; that there were very few others present than such as were of their own party: that Monday following the King was brought to the Bar again, and there all day baited, but he was full of courage, and nothing moved, nor greatly gave regard to what they said. The Hall seemed that day to be divided: many people and soldiers weeping, others crying for justice. Then they put off his further trial till Thursday last: what was done then he can give no account, for that he came thence the day before.

The Holland Embassadors and the Scots are very loud. The Earl of *Warwick* and the Mariners with him have sent letters to the Parliament, that if they did proceed any further against his Majesty, or do the least violence to his Person, they should make all those people their enemies. The watermen have also preferred a petition to the House to the same effect.

Sunday was se'nnight *Cromwell* put a guard upon *Fairfax*, accusing him of an intention to deliver the King.

This author further says, that he hath seen an Oath which is now tendered to every one that means to live in *England*, wherein all persons are required to swear, *That they do verily believe in their conscience,*

conscience, that whatsoever the remaining part of the *A.D. 1648*
House of Commons and the Army either have done or 
shall do against the King is just and lawful, and war-
rantable by the laws of God and Man.

This man tells us, that the Prince's Fleet upon Friday last took a Frigat belonging to the Rebels near *Rye*, (where he imbarked) and that they had run another of the Rebels Frigats aground upon that coast, after they had torn her very much by shot.

From *Paris* it is written, that they are totally beleaguered there, and that their horse did nightly adventure forth to get in provisions: but did very often return with nothing but marks of honour.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

THE affairs as well here as in *England* and other parts, relating to your Excellency's weighty employments are so various, as I presume still to lay hold on every opportunity to impart to you what I receive of any importance. I shall say no more of the fleet which is now at sea, but what the inclosed will tell you. *Sir John Grenville* is yet at *Fersey*, but expects every day an opportunity by the help of some of the fleet to transport himself to *Scilly*, where he will be ready to observe any directions your Excellency shall please to give him for his Majesty's service.

By letters from *Holland* I perceive, though some (as the Lord *Culpeper*, Lord *Percy* and Mr. *Long* by directions, it's conceived, from *Paris*) labour with *P. Charles* to go for *Scotland*: yet his Highness's own inclinations and most others of the Council about him are of opinion, that he go rather for *Ireland*, if your Excellency shall settle a happy peace

A.D. 1648 in that kingdom. But certain it is, P. Charles will not be able to continue past in *Holland*, and it is a question whether the Queen may not think fit, if his Highness go for *Ireland*, either to accompany him, or follow shortly after, thither. But of these secrets I am confident Lord Digby or some of your correspondence at *Paris* do give you most certainly. If the intercourse between this and *Paris* had not been debarred, I might perhaps have been able to have learnt what the Queen had determined in it.

I have herewith sent you a copy of the Prince's letter to Lord *Fairfax* and the Council of War, which was sent by Mr. *Henry Seymour*, what effect it hath had we yet hear not. There is also herein a copy of a Memoir delivered by the Prince to the States, when his Highness himself had an audience with them; which produced some fruits. For the same day they resolved to send extraordinary Embassadors, *Paw* and *Joachims*. (The first is a very good man and was at *Munster*) who were accordingly dispatched within few days. These copies merit to be divulged with you for the Prince's honour. I am credibly advertised that the States seemed very warm in the King's behalf, and spoke as if they would not take it as they had done. Doubtless if those States would or durst embargoe the ships and goods of such English rebels as are in their ports and dominions, it would have a more effectual operation in *England* for his Majesty's good and preservation, than any harangues of their Embassadors, which those barbarous rebels will regard no more than the barking of a dog or a message from the House of Peers, esteeming themselves to be in a sanctified condition and degree above any Monarchs, States, or Princes in Christendom.

The Post comes between this and *Rouen* with much difficulty, and not so frequently as heretofore; the

the Count of *Harcourt* having lately taken for the *A.D. 1648*
 King and Queen regent *Quillebeuf*, and possessed himself of *Ponteaudemer* and some other places thereabouts between this and *Rouen*; which makes me doubtful that we shall shortly be here deprived of the advertisements we were wont to receive from *England* and *Holland*, as we have been above this month of those letters that used to come from *Paris*: which will not only render your servants here less useful to your Excellency, but more disconsolate among themselves. Your best and safest way of sending letters to us will be by *S. Malo*; those parts and roads being yet free from soldiers.

As I had written thus far, I received this morning a letter from *Oudart* from *England* dated *Feb. 1*, O. S. advising that the Tuesday before the worst of villains had put to death the best of Kings and of men (our dear and gracious Master and Sovereign:) which is an act so transcendently abominable, as I even abhor to mention, but that I thought it necessary to acquaint you with it, (as the print which will be sent you by another hand will more particularly) that if you have not had earlier notice, you may by this be assured of it, as forthwith to cause this present King *Charles* the second to be proclaimed in all convenient places and parts in that kingdom. Which ought to be done by some King at Arms by warrant under your Excellency's and some other of the Peers, and Privy-Counsellors hands of that kingdom.

It's also advertised, that there are in *England* great preparations making forthwith to send a great fleet and army for *Ireland*, which (it's said) shall be commanded by *Cromwell*, and is to consist of 150 sail. Some present design is also (for certain) in hand against *Fersey*, as it's advertised. By a letter from the *Hague* of the 9th present, I am assured by a very credible hand, that *P. Charles* had then contracted

A.D. 1648 with some Dutch men of *Rotterdam* to send immediately two ships of 200 tuns apiece into *Ireland*, laden with corn and cloaths for soldiers, as well for the provision of the fleet as for the publick benefit of that kingdom; and those Merchants are to take off some of the prize Goods in lieu of these their Commodities; which I conceive will be a great help on that side. *P. Charles* is in *Holland* still, and I hear will take no resolution for his removing from thence, till he shall receive letters from *Ireland* in what condition you are there. My heart is so oppressed with sorrow as I must beg your pardon that I can add no more but that I am &c.

430.

P. S. I have by Captain *Traps* sent your Excellency two printed copies of the answer to the charge of the House of Commons against the King, whereof I formerly shewed your Excellency here a Manuscript.

Lord Byron to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellence,

JUST as I am putting my foot in the stirrup to go for *Paris* the post arrives, and in some letters from good hands I meet with a particular of great concernment, which I thought fit to advertise your Excellence of by this bearer Major *Jamot*, who tho' a Roman Catholick, yet herein so much detests their ways, that truly I believe it will alter his opinion. The business is briefly this: Sir *Knelme Digby* with some other Romanists, accompanied with one *Watson* an Independent who hath brought them passes from *Fairfax*, is gone for *England* to join the interests of all the English Papists with

with that bloody party that murdered the King, in *A.D. 1648* the opposition and extirpation of Monarchical Government; or if that Government be thought fit, yet that it shall be by election, and not by succession as formerly; provided that a free exercise of the Romish Religion be granted, and of all other Religions whatsoever excepting that which was established by Law in the Church of *England*. This devilish design, which most certainly is now setting on foot, I doubt may have an ill influence upon *Ireland*; especially upon *Owen O Neile's* party, if not prevented by your vigilance and prudence. *Poyntz*, (my Lord of *Worcester's* devil) I hear, is a prime actor in it: and it is much suspected, that *Walsingham* (whom your Excellence knows for a pragmatistical knave, and I believe comes over in *Darcy's* frigate) is employed by Sir *K. Digby*, tho' pretending other business. Sir *E. Nicholas* (I believe) either hath or will write to your Excellence concerning this particular, and Major *Jamot* is able to say something in it. I am the apter to believe it, because when I was in *England*, something to this purpose was propounded by the Independent party to the Recusants. I humbly beseech your Excellence excuse both the paper and haste of writing. I am, &c.

Caen, March 1,
1649. N. S.

JOHN BYRON.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

YOUR favour of the 4th of *January* O. S. I had the honour to receive here this last week by the hand of my Lord *Byron*, who hath (as your Excellency directed) communicated with me his instructions and papers: and with his advice, he being

A.D. 1648 ing to go to *Paris* to the Queen before he could go to the King into *Holland*, I have by General *Digby*, (who is now embarked for *Holland*) sent to the King a copy of the Articles of peace and of some other papers of most importance, that his Majesty may be the more speedily and certainly acquainted therewith, the Lord *Byron's* passage being like to be more tedious, and not without some hazard by reason of the present troubles, between this and *Paris*.

I assure your Excellency, the news of the peace made in *Ireland*, is of great comfort to all honest men in this sad conjuncture: and if by your industry your Excellency shall be able to get a good army early into the field, I hope that with the assistance of the King's fleet now on that coast, you may be able to reduce *Dublin*; which would give a great reputation to your Excellency's conduct and actions, and render the rebels there the more contemptible.

We had not here the news of our late gracious Master's being so horridly murdered until the last week, by reason the post from *England* have been oft hindered from coming into *France*; so as we cannot yet hear what resolutions the new King will take, nor how the Queen will dispose of herself, nor what will become of the Duke of *York*. But my hope is, that the King will hasten with all possible diligence into *Ireland*; which he may do securely with six or eight Dutch men of War, (which I conceive the States will lend his Majesty with the first motion) before the rebels shall have reinforced their shipping now at sea; as I have intimated to some of his Majesty's Council now in *Holland*, and as I shall my self press his Majesty when I shall have the happiness to kiss his hands in *Holland*, whither I am preparing to go as soon as I can possibly meet with a convenient passage.

By the inclosed extracts of letters I have lately received

received from *Rouen* of *Feb.* $\frac{17}{27}$ from several hands *A.D.* 1648
 (whereof one is from *Dr. Winstad* a very honest
 Physician and a Roman Catholick) your Excellency
 will see that the design of the Papists (whereof I
 have by my former given you intimation) goes on,
 and is like to prove no less destructive to Monarchy
 and the Church of *England* than the Government
 now there prevalent; whereof I thought good to
 give your Excellency again this timely notice as ful-
 ly and particularly as I receive it; because I doubt
 if it go forward in *England*, it will have a very great
 influence on those of that religion in *Ireland*. And
 I am jealous that *Walsingham* who is lately gone
 hence for *Ireland*, is sent to acquaint the Catholicks
 in that kingdom with the design, and to feel how
 they will like of it; for he did here speak much a-
 gainst the Papists endeavouring to join with the re-
 bels in *England*, and seemed to be sorry that *Sir*
Kenelme Digby had an hand in it; which is like o-
 ther of his small policies. I hope your Excellency
 will cause an eye to be had on him and others, that
 no such projects may be set on foot in that kingdom;
 which may be in this conjuncture much more per-
 nicious in regard it may make all that take part
 with *Col. Jones* and *Owen O Neile* unite.

By a letter of *Feb.* $\frac{6}{18}$ from the *Hague*, it is ad-
 vertised, that upon the news of our late gracious
 Master's being so horridly murdered, it was resolved
 at our new King's Court, that a dispatch should be
 sent into *Ireland* as soon as it was possible, the *Black-*
Moor Lady frigate being then come to the *Brill* with
 two prizes of corn and ready for that purpose. The
 two blank Commissions sent by *Lord Byron* to be
 delivered to me for *Captain Darcy* or *Capt. Gardner*
 when they had Captains and frigates to make im-
 mediate use of them, were by his Lordship both de-
 livered to *Capt. Gardner* upon a note under his hand
 (which I have) that he would send one of them to

A.D. 1648 Captain Darcy, and either make use of the other himself in a short space or send it to me. I shall now add no more to your Excellency's trouble, but humbly pray that you will honour me still with your noble favour and esteem, &c.

Caen, March 3,
1649, S. N.

E. NICHOLAS.

Extract of Dr. Winstad's Letter to Sir E. Nicholas from Rouen, Feb. 27, 1649, N. S.

TUESDAY last arrived here Sir *Kenelme Digby* from *Paris*, with divers young Gentlemen in his company; only there was a wry-necked fellow amongst them, whom Sir *Kenelme* commended to my acquaintance and care, as being (he said) in a consumption, and for that cure, had changed the air and came into *France*, but was now going into *England* with an intention to return within 16 or 20 days, and then would stay here or go into *Languedoc* for his health. Feeling his hand and pulse, I assured him that he was in no consumption, nor never had been. Afterwards I perceived that this was but a pretence, and that he was an Agent for that accursed crew; his name *Watson*, Scout-Master to the rebels. I spake freely my mind of the murther and the judgment that was made here by the French: his answer was, That the French abhorred the fact in general. I spared no curses, for I assure myself it's no sin to curse the enemies of God and my King. I asked Sir *Kenelme Digby*, why he would go now into *England*, considering the abomination of that country: his answer was, That he had not any means to subsist longer, and if he went not now, he must starve. I answered, it was the better choice to die, if he remember'd the obligations he had to the Queen regent of *France*, who took

took him from those that would have destroyed ^{A.D. 1648} him. He answer'd, that the Queen regent knew of his going, and that he had the King of *France's* pass and would return again suddenly. I prest him to stay 2 or 3 months; he replied, that by that time all business would be settled. I desired him not to think to have from those at *London* any toleration; for that for my part, I had rather live in exile all days of my life and suffer at *Tyburn* when I came home, than that my publick liberty to serve God should spring from the bloody murderers of my Sovereign: and this I know to be the opinion of all good Catholicks.

Endorsed, This was from an honest English Catholick Phyfician now at *Rouen*, being of intimate acquaintance with Sir *Kenelme Digby*.

Rouen, February 27, 1649.

The Plot (as I am told) about which Sir *K. Digby* (who came few days since to this town) is employed as Agent to treat with those horrid rebels the Independents of *England*, is for the subversion of successive hereditary Monarchy there and to make it elective, and to establish Popery there, and to give toleration to all manner of Religions except that of the Church of *England* according to the practice thereof. Here came with him one *Watson*, who is and hath long been Scout-Master General to the rebels army under *Fairfax*, and was by profession formerly a broken Goldsmith in *Lincoln*, from whence he was driven to fly for coufening people by selling Alchymy instead of Silver. This fellow was sent to *Paris* to Sir *Kenelme Digby*, from whence he wrote letters to the General and others in *England* to hasten the sending away of that Knight's passport with all speed. And that you may imagine what a kind of rogue he is, I will only tell you this one thing

A.D. 1648 thing of him; That he publickly disputes against the blessed Trinity, and will acknowledge none: and this villain is the only comrade of that Knight, and is used by him with the greatest respect that can be imagined.

I hear the Duke of York doth highly disgust his Governor, and hath lately made a complaint against him to the Queen: whereupon Sir *John Berkley* told him, *That he should know what he was, and would be his Governor in despite of, &c.* And the Duke made a reply with an Oath, (which he said was the first that he ever swore, but was resolved to keep it) *That he should not be any Governor of his,* and reprehended him sharply.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.


May it please your Excellency,

THO' I did but yesterday give your Excellency as full a dispatch as I then could by Major *Jamet*; yet having this morning received from *London* from a good hand the Advertisment inclosed, wherein you will find there is still by the Papists in *England* a driving on of their design, to procure a toleration of Religion there and elsewhere, by their adhering to the bloody Rebels now prevalent in *England*, I thought it necessary by this opportunity to advertise it to your Excellency, that if Sir *John Winter* or any other come over with that design, you may deal with him as you think best to prevent the ill consequences that may happen to his Majesty's affairs on that side in this conjuncture. I cannot yet meet with any means for my transportation into *Holland* that may be probably safe; but as soon as I can I resolve to go thither; and wheresoever I am

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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I am or shall be, I shall continue to be faithfully and perpetually,

A.D. 1648


March 4. N. S.
1648.

My Lord, &c.

E. NICHOLAS.

P. S. After I had written thus far, I saw a Letter dated *February* $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{3}$, written by Sir G. Radcliffe from the *Hague*, certifying that the States General came then to the now King, to condole with him the murder (so they justly called it) of the late King his Royal Father, and did acknowledge his now Majesty to be (as his Father's Heir and Successor) rightful and lawful King of *England*, &c. and did offer his now Majesty their best assistance for recovery of his Crowns and Rights, professing a very great detestation of so horrid an action as had been committed on the Royal Person of our gracious Sovereign and Master; and saying that it was not possible there could be any Government where the King or Chief Magistrate should be liable to be called to account for their actions by the People.

The Ministers in *Holland* came likewise in a body to the King, and declared their detestation of the said horrid murder, and the Sunday following preached in most of the Churches thereabouts, against the impiety and wickedness thereof: whereby the People there are very much enraged against all that have favoured or assisted any ways the Rebels in *England*; insomuch that *Strickland* (their Agent there) dares not go out of his lodging for fear the People will tear him in pieces. But tho' the People in *France* do generally abominate the said horrid murder, yet I do not hear that *Angier* is in any sort disquieted
in

A.D. 1648



in *Paris*. Pardon, I beseech you, the presumption of troubling you with this scribbled Postscript.

The Advertisement inclosed.

London, February $\frac{1}{2}$, 1648.

YOU will see in the Prints the several Acts of the Commons in order to the change of the Government, wherein now their seems much to be expected from Mr. *Martin* : for he begins to be in vogue, especially with the meaner Officers, and Levellers who will not be left out in the legislative work. And yesterday a list of the forty (which must be the Committee of State, to commence with the new Representative) was perfected ; but not to the content of all that pretend merit in destroying the former Government. Of this list 16 are Officers of the Army, 8 Members of the Commons (which are certainly of a piece) 4 Lords, 2 Judges, (*St. John* and *Rolls*) 2 Lawyers (*Bradshaw* and *Whitlock*) the rest Citizens and Gentlemen.

Upon the news of proclaiming the King in *Scotland*, (which here they will not seem to apprehend much) they yet ordered presently that 6000 from these parts, 4000 from *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, shall join to keep that Kingdom from hurting the settlement intended here. But nevertheless it startles the Grandees, that matters in *France* are likely to be composed, wondering the People there never sent hither for aid ; and that *Jones* writes so disconsolately of his abilities to subsist, if the Marquess of *Ormonde* (who hath made peace with the Irish) do advance. To prevent which I am told, that Sir *John Winter*, (but I crave leave to examine the truth of the report) is dispatched hence (all his sequestrations being off is a shrewd sign) to *Ireland*, with large offers of toleration for the Roman Religion,

gion, here as well as there, to make them leave all hopes in the King : and an act is coming forth for Catholicks generally to be admitted to compositions at an easy rate. A.D. 1648

Duke *Hamilton* pleads now by Counsel, and will spin out some time ere it come to an issue. For the Earl of *Norwich* the Spanish Embassador intercedes, and not without hope. The Lord *Capell* and he stand upon the mercy granted them at *Colchester* : and it holds disputation still, whether obligatory or not. The Earl of *Holland* hath *Warwick* to friend, and he perhaps must not be disoblighd in his request to save his life. Sir *John Owen* will have the hardest pluck ; but perhaps may get an advantage by his being last.

I am told a petition is fomenting privately in the City for the Lord *Grey of Grooby* to be General, and *Henry Martin* Lieutenant General : if so, you will see a new model with flaws good store.


I know not what the Dutch Embassadors being feasted last night by *Bradshaw* signifies, but an improvement of the report, that they are treating with this new State : but I must reserve my judgment, till I have fuller ground to go upon.

The Corps of the late King was interred at *Windsor* last week in *Henry VIII.*'s vault ; the four Bedchamber Lords, (*viz.* the Duke of *Richmond*, Marquess of *Hartford*, Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindsey*) attended, and the Bishop of *London* : but no obsequies were done.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,


MY former letters to your Excellency were of the 4th present, since which I have received the several Advertisements inclosed. I have by sickness
Q been

A.D. 1648  been detained hitherto from going for *Holland* : but I intend this week (God willing) to set forth, and when I shall be there will not fail to serve your Excellency faithfully, if it shall be in my power. I do not yet hear, that the King hath since his blessed Father's decease taken any servant or officer ; it may be his Majesty will not receive any until he shall be in some part of his own Dominions ; and I hope he will not be long from *Ireland*, if your Excellency shall advise his repair thither to be as necessary now he is King, as formerly when he was Prince ; and you will by the inclosed Extracts from *Paris* and the *Hague* see his Majesty's inclinations to come for *Ireland*.

The Nuncio that came from *Ireland* passed thro' this town the last week ; but he brought us no letters or commendations from your Excellency ; and tho' he remained here 3 or 4 days, he did not vouchsafe to visit any of your friends here : which argues that he was not well satisfied with your non-compliance with him in his negotiation, for the advancement of Popery by Rebellion. He here said, he believes that all the Catholicks in *Ireland* would (in detestation of the murther of our blessed Master now in Heaven) come in and join with your Excellency.

The Rebels Fleet in *England* goes (I hear) but slowly forward. They hope to have 20 sail at sea about a month hence, if they can get seamen : but there is as yet but little appearance of the forwardness of the rest of their great Fleet, which they so much talk of. I have delivered to your noble Lady for your Excellency, his late Majesty's portraiture, being the most exquisite, pious, and princely piece that I ever read.

I hear from a good hand from *Paris*, that there is at present no thought, either of the King's coming into *France*, or of the Queen's going towards his

his Majesty, or of the Lord *Jermyn's* going into *A.D. 1648*
Holland: all which have been *sur le tapis*, but 
 thought not feasible, principally for want of money.
 Though the French make shew here of very great
 resentment of the execrable murther of our blessed
 Master, yet I doubt they will never contribute re-
 ally any troops towards our now King's restoration:
 for if they had really taken to heart the vindication
 of that horrid villany, they would presently have
 sent for their Embassador from *England*, or have
 given him command to demand our Queen's join-
 ture, and have sent *Augyers* out of this Kingdom,
 and have conjured the Scots to have joined hear-
 tily, without any relation to their covenant, with
 our now King, in his just and righteous cause.
 The Prince of *Conde* indeed hath expressed a par-
 ticular sense against the Rebels in *England* for their
 high sin against God, their Sovereign and Monarchy
 itself; and openly protested that he will assist his
 Majesty that now is cordially, when peace shall
 be made in *France*. I am told from a good hand
 that Lord *Percy* stands to be 517. I believe it is not
 upon any recommendation from our late Master of
 blessed memory. When your Excellency shall be
 pleased to honour me with your commands, I shall
 readily obey them, and serve you in any thing in
 my power, very faithfully as,

Caen, March $\frac{22}{3}$,
 1648.

My Lord, &c.
 430.

Advertisements inclosed.

London, Feb. 26, 1648. O. S.

THE Committee of State seem now all agreed,
 the engagement being altered; (which they
 subscribe) and obliging now their actings *de futuro* in
 order

A.D. 1648 order to the exclusion of Kingship, and mutual support of the Commonwealth's good, and their own safeties.

The House of Commons hath received again many of its Members upon declaim of the Votes about the treaty *December 5.* and it's conceived that few will stay totally out.

There is a great and visible unwillingness in the seamen to engage for the Parliament ; their hearts being set upon the Crown's interest, and daily some of them warping towards it.

Here arrived this morning letters from *Jones*, dated *February 18* at *Dublin* ; which bring a declaration of the Marquess of *Ormonde*, (who styles himself Lord Lieutenant and Lieutenant General of all the Forces in *Ireland*) of his agreement with the Confederates, *Inchiquin*, *Taffe*, &c. The articles are therein referred to, but not brought along : nor do I find that they have yet mustered any body of an army. But they have proclaimed the King, and *Jones* calls for succours, before shipping (which he says is at *Kinsale*) come from Prince *Rupert* to lie in *Dublin* road ; who hath 18 already upon the Coast, which daily grow more in number.

This day a very high-flying Remonstrance from *Scotland* was delivered to the Speaker here, laying all breaches home upon the army, and demanding the King's restitution to his Father's Throne, and the Lords and Commons to their freedom and session, with great menaces, if this be not done.

Hereupon our force against that nation, and our arts to frustrate their proceedings, are doubled : and towards *Ireland* (it is said) 3000 shall be presently sent, and so doubtless will be, except *Ashton* in *Lancashire* do hinder, whose men (4000) refuse to disband or go for that service, save upon conditions which we are not in case to grant. Some sparks of combustion and division appear already among
our

our soldiers : and this day Col. *Lilburne* went to *A.D. 1648*
Westminster, with a Petition against the Court there
for the Lords trial. He offered also to plead for
the Lords, but nothing came of it then. It is
supposed it may go further, and that the dissent
betwixt *Cromwell* and *Martin* is real, and that the
latter is issuing commissions in vertue of his own
strength with the levelling party, which courts
him as their leader.

Duke *Hamilton* was again at the Bar this day ;
and had leave for to examine more witnesses, after
his Counsel had pleaded for him long : And *Steel*
moved for time to answer the defence, and to clear
the charge against him. So the Court adjourned till
to morrow ; which I suppose will be his last day : and
betwixt this and Friday (for then the commission
ends) it is supposed, all will have their sentence,
and perhaps an end of their lives ; which opinion
I find strong in some who judge not at a distance.

The Scots Commissioners went away for their
country by sea last week.

This day *Paw* is gone hence (who is one of the
Dutch Embassadors) for *Holland*, with a huge pre-
sumption of men upon him, that he carries over-
tures of a near confederacy desired by these men
with his Masters.

London, March 1, 1648.

The news from *Ireland* of the Marquess of *Or-
monde's* certain agreement there with the Confede-
rates and *Inchiquin*, and of Prince *Rupert* being
upon the coast with a good Fleet, makes them here
to hasten their preparations to relieve *Jones* : and
Father *Quin* is come thence to stir up the Catho-
licks here to help against the Royal Party ; so much
is the scene changed from what was acted hereto-
fore. Seventeen Regiments of horse and foot are
said here to be ordered for relief to *Ireland*.

But the new chains of *England's* liberty discover-

A.D. 1648 ed by *Lilburne* and his adherents this week, put the *Grandees* a little to a stand. For he shews many very essential points of exception to the people's agreement, and notably to the *Court of Justice* (so called) and more particularly to the new *Committee of State*, which I find is startled much thereat, as supposing themselves not fast in the saddle. Yet this day *Lilburne* hath been seized upon by troopers, and is carried away prisoner for his boldness.

Much nettled we are here likewise at the peremptory letter the Scots Commissioners left behind to be delivered when they were (as they thought) gone out of reach. But it fortunes so, that we have reached their persons at *Gravesend*, and sent them towards the borders, with a copy of it, to see, if the Parliament in *Scotland* will avow them. However I do not see, but they will leave wool in the hedge for their boldness, which nobody will be greatly sorry for that I know. Their great *Hamilton*, and the rest at trial with him, (it's thought) will this day have their doom; but that the execution will be of two sorts, some to die, others to be banished.

Sir Thomas Bendish (now Ambassador at *Constantinople*) is like to be displaced suddenly; one *Dr. Bond* suing to have the Embassy from our Republick here.

Our Fleet will not be fully fitted in three months; but by the end of this, we suppose, 20 ships will be ready: but truly the seamen warp so fast towards their fellow revoltors, that we know not what account to make of our sea forces.

The Lord *Rich* was catched going away beyond sea, and carrying ten thousand pounds worth of money and monies worth, which we conceive tended to our disservice. His father was not wise enough to keep his anchor.

The honest party, who wish freedom indeed to ^{A.D. 1648} the nation, have much to charge against the Grantees, and if they were not curbed, would speak out their minds freely. Six hundred men were to be drawn out of *Whitehall* into *Suffolk-house*; but it is so ordered, that the General shall take it for his quarter, which contents the honest soldiery. At *Whitehall*, the State Committee and other Counsellors take up most of the place.

We think not fit to let *Harry Seymour* yet to have his liberty.

There is too much cause here to fear, not only a new war, but a most sad confusion by the clashing among ourselves. *Ashton's* men refuse to disband, except they have arrears, &c.

Fain we would shut up the Scots by some chain of forts 'twixt *Edinburgh* or *Leith* and *Dunbritton*, that they make no incursions upon us.

Hague, March 16, 1649. N. S.

Upon the good news from *Ireland* all men here are extreemly disposed to remove thither: and I believe the King hath taken a resolution to that purpose, tho' it be not yet declared, which his unpreparedness by the great want of money is the sole occasion of: but all means imaginable for the getting of a supply are now used, and I hope they will be not altogether ineffectual. These States have now a great bank lying by them since the peace; but there is as yet no certain appearance that they will assist us, tho' they continue their cheap civilities to his Majesty. Their Ambassador is now returned, and we shall suddenly see, what face they will put upon his account of his Embassy, and the overtures which (without question) the Rebels in *England* made to him; their great civilities and caresses being very notorious all the while he staid there after the King's death, and their addresses

A.D. 1648 were somewhat too ceremoniously and cheerfully
 { received by him.

The Commissioners, that have been so long expected by some from *Scotland*, are not yet come: and we look for no greater matter from thence. These Lords that are here already, *Lanerick* and *Lauderdale*, (who were fain to fly for their moderation) abating not an ace of their damned Covenant in all their discourses; and why we should be so fond as to expect any thing but mischief from the rest, I know not. The Marquess of *Montrose* is likewise still here, and of clean another temper, abhorring even the most moderate party of his countrymen: and it is the opinion and wishes of all men, that his Majesty would employ him, as the man of the clearest honour, courage, and affection, to his service; and of this I believe I shall shortly be able to tell you more.

Sir *John Cockran* is just now come to town from *Denmark*, where the murther of the King hath an equal, if not higher resentment than in any other part; and he gives us an assurance that we shall have very considerable helps from that Kingdom; there being now in the way hither an extraordinary Embassador from that King to ours, who comes in very great pomp, and with overtures of as great consequence to us, whereof you may expect more by the next.

My Lord *Loughborough* is safely landed at *Rotterdam*, whither are likewise come very many persecuted Cavaliers.

Col. *Massey* applies himself very much to our Court.

By another of the same date.

Monsieur *Woolfleet* the Hooft Master of *Denmark* is upon his way hither as Embassador to our King: and Sir *John Cockran* (who returned but this morning) gives us hopes of very good assistance from that Kingdom.

Rouen,

Rouen, March $\frac{17}{27}$, 164 $\frac{8}{9}$.

A.D. 1648

This morning I happened to have some discourse with a Jew that spake English, and asking him how he liked the Parliament and Army of *England*, now they had revoked the Laws that were made against the Jews; he told me, that nevertheless he thought that there were no such villains in the world as they are, and believed that none of his Religion would ever adventure themselves among such bloody traitors as had murdered their own King.

London, March 8. 1648.

The news this day is, that the few Lords (*viz.* Duke *Hamilton*, Earl of *Holland*, Earl of *Norwich*, and Lord *Capell*,) and Sir *John Owen* (all condemned on Tuesday last to be beheaded,) shall die tomorrow betwixt 8 and 5 in the new Palace, for which the Sheriff of *Middlesex*, *Vyner*, hath already a warrant, but he is sick and his under Sheriff out of the way; so as perhaps it must fall into the army's hand to do the work. Mr. *Peters* presenting yesterday *Hamilton's* Petition to the speaker, made many believe he (at last) would escape. This day also strong endeavours have been used for all, and especially for the Lord *Capell*, but whether to purpose I cannot say; all seeming to tend to the contrary.

The Scots Commissioners are still detained at *Gravesend*, and have two musketeers and two troopers continually with them; the latter two eating with them at board. Young *Nevill* the wit is employed (we hear) to *Scotland* about their business.

A strict care is had upon such as look towards *Holland*.

We lament the hazards our ships run for want of our fleet to secure the seas, which cannot yet be ready as to any considerable number in at least a month. The three Admirals went away yesterday

A.D. 1648 to *Chatham* to set forward the preparations.

Passengers newly come from *Dublin* side assure, that it is block'd up already by sea and land; if so, it cannot hold out a week scarce.

For this cause (and to quiet *Scotland en passant*) Sir *Hardres Waller* is to march with his Irish army northward, which will consist of 12000. The General remains in the South on this side *Trent*. *Cromwell* takes charge of the North beyond *Trent*; Lord *Gray* of *Grooby* of *Wales* and the Marches, and *Ireton* of the West.


The Earl of *Northumberland* will travel for *Italy*.

I hear the Scottish Parliament have retracted their Vote for an army to hinder the invading of their country by the Sectaries. Whether it be out of consideration that the Sectaries (as they term them) are too ready and strong for them, now *Pomfret* is upon treaty, or that the surprize of *Inverness* by the Cavaliers unwitting to them (as they pretend) disgusted them, as it is by some here conjectured, I cannot tell.

Paris, March 18, 1649. N. S.

We are here in a very unsettled condition, our family being on the point of breaking up, such is the want; as likewise a remove is certainly intended, for which reason our Court is not yet put into mourning. Her Majesty (as I hear) intends for *Flanders* or *Rouen*. The design is certainly to meet the King. The Lord *Jermin* is now at *St. Germain*, and (as is conceived) about his Majesty's free passage if he comes through *France*. Dr. *Goffe* is sent to *Flanders* upon the same occasion, but as yet no return from him. Lord *Byron* was dispatched within two days after his arrival here.

Peace will certainly be concluded if satisfaction be given to the Generals here, otherwise the troubles
are

are like to continue. They have sent Ministers of *A.D. 1648*
their own to *St. Germain's* to treat for them. 

Paris, March 19, 1649. N. S.

Since the murder of his Majesty, the Queen hath sent into *Holland* to have a meeting with our young King, and that he come to *Rouen* or *Flanders* there to speak with her. Of this letter she hath as yet received no answer, but expects every day. The Parisians are upon a new Treaty; the Articles which are now cried about the streets being refused by the people.

The people's demands are, 1. That the King come back to *Paris*. 2. The Cardinal to be gone. 3. Taxes to be demolished. 4. The Princes to be contented.

Rouen, March 20, 1649. N. S.

This morning a President and three Counsellors of this Parliament began their journey towards *Ruelle*. The Queen regent hath sent to the Duke of *Longueville* to have some come to treat about the settling of a peace.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

I pray be pleased to decypher this yourself.
Extract of a Letter from Paris, dated March
 $\frac{1}{2}^6$, 164 $\frac{8}{9}$. to me by Lord Hatton.

THE Queen told me lately, that Lord *Percy*, *William Murray*, and some other English and Scots had writ to her Majesty, that unless she forthwith came into *Holland* in person to employ all her interest with the King, to prevent the advices of his Counsellors, who had too great a power with him and opposed all good men and all the Queen's ways,
all

A.D. 1648 all people there despaired of any good. This the Queen repeated with much scorn, and with as deserved a character of the persons that proposed it to her Majesty as you or I could wish. I am not without strong persuasion that the Lord *Jermin* meets with more difficulties in the absolute government of the Queen than ever yet he hath done; and I think it possible, whilst the King shall be in *Ireland*, to work her Majesty to a greater compliance with those Counsellors that I hope shall be about him, than I have formerly thought. Her Majesty is persuaded, that it is a design of *L. Colepeper's* to divert the journey into *Ireland*; he supposing she will rather cross that journey than give way to the other. But the Queen saith, his Lordship's expectation shall be deceived, and that the world shall see that no worldly thing should be valued by her in comparison of the welfare of the King and his party. Believe me, the Queen seems to me to be very sensible of those principles which you and all honest men have, and which (as she tells me) the late King by his last letter gave in charge, not only to her but to the now King, upon his blessing if he observed them, and his curse if he did not; to which (she called me to witness) she added her own. I am sure, a better opinion is expressed by the Queen of some of you absent, and more countenance shewed to some of your sentiments, than Lord *Jermin* would have afforded to us, if he could hinder it with convenience. If the contents of this inclosed duplicate agrees with your sentiment, I pray write your mind so as I may shew it and your kind resentment; but I have imparted it to you by the Queen's directions.

My noble Lord,

I Pray be pleased to receive this Extract as an assurance of my extraordinary confidence in your
 Excellen^y

Excellency's secrecy and of my entire affection to ^{A.D. 1648} your person: for otherwise, tho' it be necessary for even the King's service that you should be acquainted with it, I should not so freely have communicated it. It's very certain that the Queen is in very great necessity, chiefly through the ill management of her revenue, (the blame whereof is laid on Lord *Fermin*) which I conceive may constrain her either for a time to retire into a Monastery, (which it's believed she will not) or to go for *Ireland*, if there may be any hopes of subsistence for her in that kingdom; which may be worthy of your Excellency's consideration. I shall within 2 or 3 days go for *Holland*, and wherever I shall be, I shall be most passionately and really, my Lord, &c.

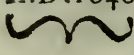
430.

Lord Byron to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellence,

I Gave you an account of my arrival at *Caen* by letters which I hope your Excellence hath long since received, and likewise of what intelligence I met withal at *Rouen*; from whence with no small difficulty I got to *Paris*, that City being then besieged, and the armies of both parties lying in my way.

I found the Queen possessed with so deep a sense both of her own loss and the sad condition of her children, that had it not been for the comfort she received by the welcome news I brought her from your Excellence, I do verily believe her life had been in danger through excess of grief and melancholy. She most willingly assents to your Excellence's opinion in what concerns the King's coming into *Ireland*, and thinks the alteration of his condition

A.D. 1648  tion from Prince to King an argument rather to hasten than retard his repair thither: and to that purpose writ as effectually as she could to his Majesty, and gave particular command to urge it even with importunity. My Lord *Fermin* was of the same mind, only I had order (which I told her Majesty was likewise your Excellency's desire) to assure the Scotch Noblemen now attending the King in *Holland*, that his Majesty's coming into *Ireland* was not with any thought of prejudice to their nation, but rather chosen as a place where he might conveniently unite the forces and interests of both kingdoms against the common enemy, and from whence (as occasion served) he might with ease and safety transport his person into *Scotland*.

With these instructions I came to the *Hague* about ten days since, where not long before the Earl of *Lanerick* (now Duke *Hamilton*) was arrived. There I found likewise the Marquess of *Montrose*, the Earls of *Lauderdale*, *Calender* and *Seaforth*; the Lords *St. Claire* and *Napier*, and old *William Murray*. These, tho' all of one nation, are subdivided into four several factions. The M. of *Montrose*, with the Lords *St. Claire* and *Napier* are very earnest for the King's going into *Ireland*: all the rest oppose it, tho' in several ways. I find Duke *Hamilton* very moderate, and certainly he would be much more, were it not for the violence of *Lauderdale* who haunts him like a fury. *Calender* and *Seaforth* have a faction apart; and so hath *William Murray*, employed here by *Argyle*. The King himself is resolutely bent for *Ireland*, and is only stayed here for want of money, which his brother the Prince of *Orange* (I doubt) cannot, and the States say they will not furnish him with, unless he go into *Scotland* and take the Covenant: that is the plain English of it, tho' they speak it not openly. The Princess Dowager of *Orange* is drawn into this
Cabal

Cabal on another score ; for she is made believe the King shall marry her daughter, if he comply with the Scots in their desires ; and my Lord *Percy* is the chief Agent in this business, both upon the promises he hath of establishing his own fortune in case he can effect it, and upon a prudent consideration that *Ireland* will hardly brook so serpentine a nature as his is. Much prejudice the King receives by some honest but indiscreet persons of his own party, who by their ranting and railing against the Scots, breed great jealousies and suspicions in them.

These humours (God be thanked) since my coming to town are well qualified ; for I have been with them all generally, and have calmly urged the necessity of the King's coming into *Ireland*, with such reasons as they seem to be convinced with, yet I doubt, in their underhand practices to stop that resolution they are as active as ever ; so much doth private interest sway them above any reason that can be given.

I could not omit writing by so welcome a messenger as I know Major *Stephens* will be to your Excellence, (who hath happily made his escape from those blood-thirsty rebels in *England*) tho' his haste be such, that I cannot give you so full an account as hereafter I shall when Col. *Legg* comes, who is to bring his Majesty's answer to your Excellence in all the particulars mentioned in my instructions. The Prince of *Orange* hath promised Captain *Imboly's* ship for my Lady Marchioness ; but I forbear the sending of it, till I hear from her Ladyship according to her command, when I waited upon her at *Caen*, and here there is yet no more appearance of spring than in *Norway* or *Lapland*.

I received this inclosed from Sir *H. de Vic*, with a note of the prizes and arms and ammunition ; wherein he humbly desires to be employed to your Excellence, and undertakes to send them securely,
upon

A.D. 1648
~~~~~



*A.D.* 1649 upon assurance of payment for them either there or at *Antwerp* or *Brussels*. There hath not any news come out of *Ireland* since my arrival. I am

*Hague, March 30,*  
1649. N. S.

*Your Excellence's &c.*

JOHN BYRON.

*Lord Byron to the M. of Ormonde.*

*May it please your Excellence,*

THE letter I sent by Major *Stephens*, and what I now write by Col. *Legg*, I believe will come to your Excellence's hands both at once; they being resolved to make use of the same ship for their passage. Col. *Legg* comes so fully instructed in all particulars, that I shall not need to give your Excellence great trouble. He can inform you, how ill the King's business hath been managed here, and what prejudice it hath received by the indiscretion of some and knavery of others. I have (I thank God) avoided the interesting myself in any of their factions, and by that means gained so much credit amongst them, as to be able in some measure to allay and qualify those heats on both sides, which were like to destroy the King's affairs; and especially by assuring the Scots, (who had drawn both the P. of *Orange* and his Mother to their party) that your Excellence by desiring the King's presence in *Ireland* intended nothing prejudicial to their Nation; so that now (by the seeming approbation at least of those that most opposed it) the King's journey into *Ireland* is resolved on. The question now is, how to procure money for him; which had not been so difficult, if a right course, (and such as the P. of *Orange* himself propounded) had been taken.

Since

Since that letter I sent to your Excellence from Sir *H. de Vic*, I have received another; wherein he wishes me to assure you, that if he may have good caution for payment in six months, he will provide what quantity of arms and ammunition you shall desire, and take care for the safe transport of them into *Ireland*. A.D. 1648

The Duke of *Buckingham* desired me at my being at *Paris* to present his humble service to your Excellence, and to acquaint you, that if it may stand with your good liking, his intention is to wait upon the King into *Ireland*: and this he thought fit to do, lest the strange carriage of his Mother and Father-in-law (which no man can more detest than he doth) might any ways reflect upon him to his prejudice in your Excellence's good opinion, which he professes to be extreamly ambitious of. And truly, my Lord, he is a person of so much worth and so great hopes, that I am confident your Excellence will lay hold of any occasion to oblige him, when you know him. Thus much I have been bold to represent to your Excellence upon his intreaty, and humbly leave it to your consideration, whether in your next dispatch into *France*, you shall think fit to take notice of it to him.

There hath not any thing been heard out of *Ireland* since my arrival, which occasions great doubts, lest some alteration should have happened since my departure thence. But I hope those doubts are causeless; howsoever I humbly conceive it requisite, some Express be sent immediately upon Col. *Legg's* arrival, by the way of *France*, to meet the King with such assurances as may take away all those scruples. The King, I believe, will bring the Duke of *York* along with him, and hath conferred the place of High Admiral upon him: which I hope will both confirm those ships the King already hath in their obedience, and be a motive to others to return to it.

A.D. 1648

There is another ship ready to depart within a few days ; by which I shall be able to give your Excellence a more certain account of the King's resolutions. I am,

My Lord, &c.

Hague, April 1.  
1649. N. S.

JOHN BYRON.

*Duke Hamilton to the M. of Ormonde.*

*May it please your Lordship,*

I FIND by your Lordship's letter to the Earl of Lauderdale, and likewise from my Lord Byron, that you was pleased so far to honour me, as upon your Lordship's concluding of a peace in *Ireland*, to send into *Scotland* to give me notice thereof. But ere your letters could come to my hands, I was forced from thence through the rigid proceedings against me of those who are now in power there. I left that kingdom full of division and discontents. I know not whether the cruel murder of our Master, and since of your Lordship's servant, my unfortunate brother, and your noble friends my Lord of *Holland* and my Lord *Capel*, with the horrid resolutions now taken at *London* for the destruction both of Religion and Monarchy, may not have lessened the violence of those who did oppose the last engagement, and given them thoughts of uniting themselves for a revenge and for their common safeties. It were no difficult matter to kindle such a flame in that kingdom, as might soon destroy it: but in my judgment, that would be no great advantage to his Majesty's service ; since it would certainly lay that nation open to the invasion of the Sectaries, and either render them tributaries to the murderers of their King, or force them to a base compliance with them. But were they never so unanimous in en-

gaging



gaging for his Majesty, yet their single endeavours <sup>A.D. 1648</sup>  
would signify but very little, without your Lord-  
ship's and the kingdom of *Ireland's* conjunction with  
them, as to the recovery of *England*. Nor would  
I want my fears, that their united strengths would  
hardly do it without a considerable foreign assistance.  
Your Lordship's great prudence and power hath re-  
covered to his Majesty his crown of *Ireland*, without  
the expence of almost any blood. I wish he may  
accept of that of *Scotland*, which is likewise so of-  
fered unto him; and though I cannot advise him to  
an absolute compliance with all the extremities of  
the demands, and therefore shall not condemn his  
preparations to force them to reason, if they be ob-  
stinate, (so it be done by fitting instruments) yet  
possibly it might prove of as great advantage to him  
to reclaim them by fair means, as to reduce them by  
force. But I shall make no judgment of this, un-  
til I know the particulars of those desires, which we  
daily expect shall be offered to his Majesty by Com-  
missioners from them; whereof I shall not fail to  
give your Lordship an account: and as no losses nor  
discouragements can lessen my resolutions to serve his  
Majesty, so in all conditions I can be thrown into;  
I shall continue faithful;

*My Lord, &c.*

*Hague, April, 1,*  
1649. N. S.

HAMILTON.

*The Earl of Lauderdale to the M. of Ormonde.*

*May it please your Lordship;*

THE publick calamities we have been oppress-  
ed with, and the difficulties of conveying of let-  
ters, have interrupted that correspondence which I  
so much desired to have kept with your Lordship,  
and which your Lordship hath been pleased to re-  
new by that letter wherewith you have honoured me

*A.D.* 1648 with my Lord *Byron*; for which I return your Lordship most humble thanks. Before my going from this last into *Scotland*, I presumed to write to your Lordship, and intended to have continued it from thence: but the good intelligence was sent from this to *London* of my errand, and the severe rigidness of those in power at *Edinburgh* made my stay short, and my voyage not so useful as perhaps otherwise it might have been. I shall not trouble your Lordship with the relation of the condition of that kingdom; for I believe the horrid murder of the King, and the sense of their own danger, if those bloody villains at *London* continue still in power, have wrought a change at *Edinburgh* to the better: and if right ways be taken, I shall not doubt but *Scotland* may be united and engaged for the King.

It was a great encouragement to me, (last time that I engaged in the King's service) to know that your Lordship was to undertake it in *Ireland*, and a conjunction with a person of so much honour in so good a cause was a great comfort to me. And now it would be a joy to me, to see *Scotland* and *Ireland* joined in the same cause. Your Lordship hath by your power and wisdom recovered that kingdom to the King, and in all the calamities and discouragements of this time, it is one of my greatest hopes, that you may so direct his Councils, and assist his true friends, as such a conjunction may be effected. I have written more particularly to Sir *George Hamilton*; which shall make me at this time not give you more trouble, only give me leave to renew this assurance, that I am with all integrity and reality,

*My Lord, your Lordship's*

*most faithful and most humble Servant,*

*Hague, April 1,*  
1649. N.S.

LAUDERDALE.

*General*

*General Digby to the M. of Ormonde.*

*May it please your Excellency,*

YOUR Excellency will receive from this bearer, <sup>A.D. 1648</sup> more particularly than I dare undertake to inform you, all that is stirring in this Court; wherefore I forbear that part: and although my Lord Byron's care and diligence to serve your Excellency, might give me a fair excuse for not meddling with what relates to your Excellency, yet the title I have to interest myself in the business of procuring Captain *Jambolt's* ship by Lady Marchioness her commands for her transportation, as well as my affections to serve you (which I dare swear cannot be exceeded by any body living) makes it not unfit for me to give your Excellency this account of that business; that upon my moving the King in it, his Majesty expressed such readiness to effect it with the Prince of *Orange*, and all about him so great a desire to serve your Excellency, as gives me cause to believe there will need no other solicitation for any thing that may any way gratify your Excellency, (if there be a power of doing it) than a bare signification of your desires. There hath passed a promise of the desired ship: but the order is not yet issued for her going, because my Lady Marchioness desired it might not come, till we should receive her Ladyship's farther pleasure: which signified, the ship shall with the first fair wind be ready to attend her Ladyship in the port she shall appoint; whereof I have given her honour an account, and shall not fail to do so by every convenience, till I am certain her Ladyship is informed of it.

Your Excellency's favour to my brother *Digby* being



*A.D. 1648* ing such as I know it, I presume you will not be displeased (if you know it not already) to be informed how he got his late hurts, which we conceive to have been in this manner.

The day that the Prince of *Condé* assaulted *Charenton*, my brother waited on him as a voluntier, his troop being in *Normandy* with the *Comte d'Harcourt*; the Prince having ordered the troops he thought necessary to the assault, drew up the rest of his army upon the way to *Paris* to receive the *Parisians*, in case they should attempt to relieve *Charenton*. A great body of men was to that purpose drawn out of town; but finding the Prince in so good a posture to receive them, they thought not fit, (considering the sad condition of rebels once beaten) to hazard a day. But they drew up at a little distance in fair sight of the Prince's army, than which they were much more numerous.

There an eminent person of the *Parisians*, advancing from the body, seemed to expect some one to change a pistol with him: whereupon my brother without communicating his design, advanced towards him; but the ground was such, that in the way my brother lost sight of his party who was retired to his troops, and had advanced one teer to the brow whereon he had made his flourish. My brother ignorant of what past went fairly on, and instead of his Monsieur, he found a troop of horse ready to receive him. One might pardon him though he had been surprized; but if he were, he express'd it not by an unhandsome retreat: but on he joggs till he came near enough to the troop to be saluted with a whole volly of Carabines, whereof one took place in his thigh, another in his arm, but no bone touched: so returning their salute with his pistol, he made his retreat with abundance of grinning honour. I have now so much troubled  
your

*from the Year 1641 to 1660.*

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your Excellency, that it will be an especial grace, if *A.D. 1648*  
you pardon,

*My dear Lord,*

*Your Excellency's most affectionate*

*most faithful humblest Servant,*

*Hague, April 1,*  
1649. N. S.

JOHN DIGBY.

*Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.*

*May it please your Excellency,*

**H**AVING staid here above a week for a wind, *A.D. 1649*  
since my former sent your Excellency by Mr. *Slingsby*, I would not omit to send you the inclosed  
Extracts of such Advertisements, as are since come  
to my hand from several parts. We find by the  
prints of the last week, that D. *Hamilton*, the Earl  
of *Holland* and Lord *Capell*, were beheaded in the  
New-Palace-Yard in *Westminster* the  $\frac{2}{7}$  of *March*:  
but the Earl of *Norwich* and Sir *John Owen* are re-  
prieved, the first at the suit of the Spanish and  
Dutch Ambassadors, and the latter upon the threats  
of his countrymen, who gave out that if he were  
put to death, they would slay an hundred of the re-  
bels best friends in *Wales* in revenge of it. The  
Duke and Earl it seems died in their sin of rebellion  
against the King, according to the Scots damnable  
Covenant, without demanding (openly) pardon of  
God for it, or so much as publickly declaring their  
sense or sorrow for the same. But the truly noble  
Lord *Capell* died like a person of honour and much  
courage, as a good Christian and true-hearted En-  
glishman, being much lamented by all worthy men.

There is, (I hear for certain) a very great con-  
sternation in *England* among all sorts of people: and  
the Levellers have lately spoken aloud against the  
present.

A.D. 1649 present rulers there, with impunity. The narrow seas begin to swarm with men of war, as *Ostenders*, Irish vessels, and others with commissions to take any English belonging to those that adhere to the rebels there: which gives the *Londoners* much trouble, and hath in a manner destroyed the trade of *England*; which will make the English and other Merchants seek to trade in *Ireland*, if by good usage and just dealing they may receive encouragement on that side; which I presume your Excellency will timely provide and take order for, in the best and most publick way you can.

It is here reported, that the King of *Spain* is either dead or very dangerously sick, not like to recover. If he should die, his Queen (being the Emperor's daughter) would be the best match in *Christendom* for our King, if it could be compassed, and would (I hope) expiate a former great failing in that point.

I very much apprehend, that *Argyle* and his faction in *Scotland*, as well in gratitude to those now in *England* who have cut off his great enemy's head; as in order to his own safety and preservation in that kingdom, (where he is not universally beloved) will unite with the prevalent rulers now in *England*: for the Covenanters there (from whom he is warped) are no friends to him, though not hearty to the King's interest.

The peace is now made at *Paris*, and published here and in all parts of *France*; which, I hope, will have a good influence on the King's affairs in *England*, where the rebels formerly seemed to be much troubled, that any neighbour monarchy should be in peace. It's in these and other parts much complained, that such Irish vessels as are at sea, use great cruelty towards all English they take without distinction; insomuch as those who are best affected to the King and endeavour to wait on his Majesty, when



when they are met with by any of the Irish, are used as ill as any others: which will reflect on your Excellency, if some timely and publick command be not given, that distinction be carefully used; and indeed it were better to spare ten ill-affected, than to destroy one loyal English subject.

There are no letters come from your Excellency, nor from *Ireland* since the Lord *Byron*'s arrival, either into *Holland* or *France*, that we yet hear of: but my hope is, that your Excellency will now speedily send an Express to the King, to let his Majesty understand in what condition you are on that side. I am this morning going to embark here for *Havre*, there to attend the first opportunity for my transportation in some Dutch ship for *Holland*; whence I presume the King will not be able to remove this month at soonest. I do not hear that any Lords, Counsellors, or Officers of the Crown are yet come or have made their addresses from *England* to the King; nor that his Majesty hath as yet confirmed any such regal Officers (now with his Majesty) in the places they held under his blessed Father. I have now no more to add, but that I am most entirely and faithfully, &c.

Caen, April 8,  
1649. N. S.

430.

*I beseech your Excellency to be pleased to decypher this yourself.*

THE Earl of *Cork* saith, he expects his brother the Lord *Broghill* here every day, and that he comes hither with intention to adhere to the King's friends in *Ireland*, upon some invitation from your Excellency. I believe, he intends to go over thither, either with the King, or with my Lady *Ormonde*. I pray your Excellency to advise your friends

*A.D.* 1649 friends by your next, what you conceive fit to be done therein; in relation to the King's service, in regard of the great disaffection that is known to have been between the Lord *Inchiquin* (who hath deserved so eminently well of his Majesty) and the Lord *Brogbill*.

If the King shall come into *France* to meet our good Queen (as is from several good hands from *Paris* and *Holland* confidently advertised) it is verily believed her Majesty will either accompany him into *Ireland*, or speedily follow him thither: which whether it may be convenient in this conjuncture for his Majesty's affairs there, your Excellency can best judge, and will (I doubt not) timely send to court your and the Councils deliberate advice concerning it: but I say this to none but yourself. If your Excellency conceive that Lord *Fermyn* and Lord *Colepeper* will not be acceptable in *Ireland*, methinks some rumours might be skilfully divulged, that it will be unsafe and dangerous for either of them to come there. But of this to yourself only.

*Caen*, April 8, 1649. N. S.

### E X T R A C T.

*I pray be pleased to decypher this yourself.*

*Hague*, March 30, 1649. N. S.

IT is very true, that the King intends to make *France* his way to *Ireland*, and to meet the Queen: and I believe he will go to *Paris* to her. The truth is, I cannot guess at the time of our remove, tho' the King be resolved for *Ireland*, and desires to be there as soon as may be: and no man is now so mad, as openly to avow a dislike of it. But the want of money is so incredible, and the debts so great, that I know not how we shall get over these difficulties. And you must know, that  
though

though no man opposes the going into *Ireland*, yet many are in their hearts against it, and are glad to cherish any rubs. The Scotch faction is strong and bold, and have friends in this State. The Queen, I believe, will govern very much, and is full of designs. They persuade her to go with the King into *Ireland*. A.D. 164

*Advertisements inclosed.*

London, March  $\frac{1}{2}$ , 1643.

WE have here laboured under strange variety of reports concerning the Peace and Troubles of *France*. It is now finally said, that all is there pacified, which a little discourages the proceedings of the Rulers: but they have so much assurance in Providence, that on they put, and doubt not of success.

We begin to believe, that *Ireland* will prove difficult to reduce, and that *Dublin* is near lost: moreover that *Antrim*, *Owen*, *Roe*, and *Jones*, are agreed with the Marquess of *Ormonde*. Our army therefore is hastened towards the North, to prevent the stir of that, and to pass afterwards into *Ireland*, where they apprehend that this summer's action will principally fall.

There is here a very considerable number of Merchants who will go and carry their stocks for *Ireland*, if they may be sure of good usage there; which will quickly ruin those of *London*, who already feel great dearth and discouragements.

The King inclines for *Ireland*, and will not take the Covenant. The Nobility here dare adventure nothing, and are curbed so much, that we fear no harm from them. *Northumberland* is going for *Italy* under a negative engagement.

A result of a Committee at *Goldsmith's-hall* is, that  
12 persons



*A.D.* 1649 12 persons be excepted from composition, viz. the Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *York*, Lord of *Worcester*, Lord of *Newcastle*, Lord of *Bristol*, Lord *Digby*, Lord *Cottingham*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Sir *John Stowell*, Judge *Jenkins*, Sir *Francis Dodington*, and Sir *Richard Grenville*.

*Jenkins* and *Stowell* they conceive fit to be tried at the (now called) upper Bench. Marquess *Winton* and Bishop of *Ely* to be banished. *Powell*, *Poyer*, and *Langborne* to be tried at a Counsel of war.

After that an Act of Grace is to come out ; and an engagement to be subscribed generally, of submission to the present government, exclusive to all other, and approving the proceedings to the change.

*Hague, March 25, 1649.*

The meer politick States here grow every day more outward in matter of assisting us than other, and think they have done enough in their complementary resentments of his Majesty's business : and indeed there have been great instruments here to promote that slackness in them, upon the dispute (which is only disputed by base treacherous People) of his Majesty's going into *Ireland* or *Scotland* ; the Lords we have here of that nation labouring with all industry possible, both by all the Dutch and some English, to carry the King into that accursed Kingdom. But they are so impudent, and we so unfortunate, as not to be able to suppress their practices, to importune the King to go thither, and take the Covenant ; tho' I hope there is no danger that they will in any kind prevail ; for nothing but the want of money doth keep us here, and if we could be supplied, we shall certainly go for *Ireland*.

*Jersey, March  $\frac{1}{2}$  7, 1648.*

I received three days since (by an express, which the

the King sent hither and to *Scilly*) letters from his *A.D. 1649* Majesty and Mr. *Chancellour*. When he came away from the Court, (which was the eleventh of this month) there was yet no talk of the King's remove from *Holland*: yet Mr. *Chancellour* writes me, that he will not be long before they shall leave that place and look towards *Ireland*.

I had a letter likewise from my Lord *Fermyn*, that confirms the report of the King's going to *Ireland*; and that he will be speedily in *France* to see the Queen, and so will go to Port *Louis*, *Rochelle* or *Brest*, to take shipping; therefore I believe your journey for *Holland* will be laid aside. My Lord *Fermyn* doth very earnestly invite me to wait upon the King as he passes through *France*, whereto I am much inclined; especially if I do hear that the Rebels do not still hold their design of coming hither.

*Paris, April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1649.*

The late agreed Peace seems every day more and more confirmed: all the Generals (except the Duke of *Beaufort* and Marquess *De la Motte*) have been at Court, and there well received. The Prince of *Conde* and the Duke of *Longueville* have had a meeting at *Trye* near *Gisors*, and the Duke is expected this day at *St. Germain*s. The Duke of *Orleans* and the two Princesses of *Conde* came yesterday hither, and lodge in their own Palaces. Marquess *De la Boullaye* hath laid down arms in *Anjou*, and it is believed that the Duke *De la Tremouille* hath by this time done no less in *Poitou*. The Marquess of *Noirmonstier* is also come in from the Arch-Duke, and hath brought with him the Dutchess of *Chevereuse* and her daughter who are now in this City; so that all the care for the present is how to prosecute the war against the Spaniard: in order to which they will here probably be put to great straits, how to find money sufficient

*A.D.* 1649 to content their armies, in regard that all extraordinary impositions upon the People will henceforwards be of dangerous consequence, and to treat with Partisans for the farther anticipation of the ordinary Revenue, as it will not advance much, so is it a point of a nice nature, and to be very tenderly handled.

The Parliament here, to gain the good will of the People, have made an arrest for the abatement of this last quarter's house-rent, in such sort that it includes most of the meaner sort, and casts the loss upon the landlords. But on the other side, they have lost as much esteem by insisting to have their own quarters wages payed, the funds whereof the King hath been forced to convert to his proper use.

The Count of *Harcourt* is the man voiced for the prime Commander in *Flanders* this year, and next to him *Erlack* will be chiefly relied on; whose army now in *Lorain* is reported by those that speak most modestly to be above ten thousand, since the deduction of those Regiments which mutinied and returned into *Germany*. Monsieur *L'Estrade* is made Governor of *Arras*, in the place of *La Tour* lately dead; and in *Dunkirk* the Marquess *De Pallean* commands; both of them creatures and confidents of the Cardinal's. *Marshal de la Meilleray* hath resigned his surintendant's place, to make way (as it is thought) for Monsieur *De Servient*, and many speak as if the Chancellour were like to deliver up the Seals, and that *Mareschal de Grammont* shall not be employed this Campaign. But *Ransaw* is in danger of his life, being questioned for treating the delivery of *Dunkirk* and *Berg* to the Spaniard.



Sir E. Nicholas to Sir George Lane.

S I R,

THO' I wrote to you lately by Mr. *Slingsby*; *A.D. 1649*  
yet I could not leave this place without acquainting you with the time of my departure, which will be this morning towards *Havre*, there to attend a Dutch vessel for my transportation to *Holland*. You will by mine to my Lord Lieutenant understand all the news that I have.

I have herein sent you the copy of a letter written by *Salmasius*, the famous learned man now at *Leyden*, who is of the Religion; that you may see his opinion, that the Presbyterians would have done little less villainously with our blessed Master, than the other Devils in *England* have done. I pray let my Lord Marquess see it, and be not sparing to divulge it among the Presbyterians on that side; especially among the Scots of that faction: and I wish it were sent into *Scotland* to the rigid Calvinists there.

I pray, wheresoever you shall hear of my being, know that you have a servant there, who will be ready on all occasions to approve himself,

S I R, &c.

Caen, April 8, N. S.  
1649.

CHARLES LEDISON.

Letter of Salmasius on the murder of King  
Charles I.

M O N S I E U R,

LA nouvelle de la mort du Roy d' Angleterre  
m'a troublé, mais elle ne m'a point surpris.  
II

*A.D. 1649* Il y a long temps que je voyois qu'ils en vouloient venir la. Des le commencement de leur revolte contre le Roy il m'a esté aisé de juger qu'ils ont eu le deſſein de ſe faire Republique, & que dans ce deſſein ils ne manqueroient pas d'oſter de leur chemin le plus grand obſtacle qui pourroit les empêcher d'y parvenir. Car pour oſter la Royauté, il leur a ſemblé qu'il falloit premiereſent ſe deffaire du Roy. En ſuivant, comme a la piſte, des le commencement, et conſiderant tous leurs mouvemens et leurs de marches juſques à la fin, on a peu remarquer par des ſignes preſques infaillibles le But, ou ils viſoyent. Il eſt bien vray ſemblable que les Preſbyteriens n'avoient unguere different deſſein, pour ce que regarde la Royauté, mais peut-eſtre qu'ils euſſent traitté la perſonne de leur Roy plus favorablement. Ils ſe fondoient ſur d'autres raiſons & plus plauſibles, qui leur faiſoient deſirer un changement en la forme de l'Eſtat : l'apprehenſion qu'ils ont eu que le Roy ne vouloit changer la Religion, ou qu'il n'eut envie de laiſſer l'exercice libre aux Papiſtes. Les Indépendens ne l'ont pas accusé de cela, parce qu'ils avoient tout autre viſée par la maxime de leur Religion, qui eſt de tolerer toute ſorte de Religion. Pour l'action qu'ils ont faite, elle ſera, et en le ſiecle preſent et a la poſterité, en abomination : et ce qui la rend plus deteſtable, c'eſt qu'ils ont voulu couvrir du nom de Juſtice la plus execrable, et la plus injuſte procedure qui ayt jamais eſté faite, je ne diray pas en ſemblable cas, car il n'y a jamais eu de ſemblable, mais en tous les Proceſ qui ont jamais eſté intentés pour crimes es perſonnes les moins conſiderées. Les criminels de leze Majeſté au premier chef ſont jugez tout autrement qu'ils n'ont faits leur Roy legitime, envers lequel eux meſmes ſeront trouvez coupable, aux jugemens de tous les ſiecles & de tous les hommes, de la plus haute trahiſon qui ſe  
puiſſe

puisse commettre contre au Souverain par ses fujets. *A.D. 1649*  
Si quelque nation, ou Payenne, ou mesme Papiste, s'estoit noirci d'un tel crime, je le porterois plus aisement ; mais de voir que des Reformez se sont renduz infamez par un si horrible parricide, est ce qui m'est tout a fait insupportable, & que je ne puis digerer sans une grande amertume d'esprit. De quel front pourrons nous maintenant reprocher aux Jesuists, qu'ils sont des joueurs de Roys ? Ils se sont tous jours couverts de cette excuse, que c'estoit l'opinion de quelques particuliers de leur société, qui estoit desavoué par le reste du corps : et voici chez nous une pratique establie par la forme de Justice pour faire mourir un Roy pour changer le Gouvernement, sans autre cause legitime. La pluspart de Jesuistes, je dis de ceux qui ont enseignez la doctrine de tuer les Roys, ont porté leur Thesis en ces termes, Qu'il estoit permis de tuer un Tyran. Ces Bourreaux peuvent ils se deffendre, qu'ils n'ayent mis à mort leur Roy legitime ? Et combien qu'ils le qualifient Tyran, Traistre et Meurtrier en la sentence qu'ils ont prononcée contre luy, ces charges sont sans aucun preuve, et les crimes leur conviennent proprement, et non a leur Roy. C'est une flaitrissure sur la Reformation que nous n'effacerons jamais, que les Calvinistes n'ayans qu'un Roy de leur Religion, ils l'ont fait mourir meschamment & miserablement. Les Embassadeurs de nostre Estat ont esté ouys dans le Parlement par les deux chambres la veille que le Roy fût executé, (a ce qui j'apprens d'une lettre imprimée qu'un domestique des dits Embassadeurs a escrit icy :) ils ne pouvoient avoir autre responce, ni estre mieux receu qu'ils ont esté. Vous avez raison de rependre leurs solicismes : Aux fils d'un grand Roy, il ne sont qu'a faire service, & à des chefs de faction & de rebellion ils sont humbles serviteurs. Colligez de là, s'ils recognoistront pour Roy le Prince de



A.D. 1649 Galles. Ce n'est pas de mesme de l'avoir reconnu pour legitime Heritier pendant que le Roy vivoit encores ; alors ils n'offensoient personne, mais à present en le recognoissant pour Roy, ils choqueront cette Republique naissante.

Je respondray aux autres points de vostre lettre une autre fois, &c.

*De Leyden ce 17 Feb. 1649.*

*Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.*

*May it please your Excellency,*

HAVING staid here about a fortnight for a passage into *Holland*, and having the last week from hence sent the King a relation of what I understood from Col. *Trafford*, to be the present state of his Majesty's affairs on that side, (whereby it will appear to his Majesty, that it is somewhat too early for him yet to repair thither in Person, as his Majesty intends) I received this day a copy of a Memorial delivered by his Majesty's command to the States Deputies at the *Hague*, which I here inclosed send to your Excellency ; that by it you may perceive, that a principal reason why his Majesty hasteneth so soon into *Ireland* is, that his Majesty hath been thereunto advised, and with importunity invited by that Kingdom and by your Excellency. I know you invited the Prince thither, but now (being King) it seems to me very demonstrable by the articles, that that great change hath so much altered the case, as I much apprehend his Majesty's presence in *Ireland* (before it be better settled, or at least that your Excellency be Master of *Dublin*) will be very inconvenient, if not prejudicial to his affairs there, by rendering the Irish Catholicks unreasonably importunate, if not mutinous, to get the King (as soon as he shall arrive in *Ireland*) to call

call a Parliament there in the absence of the greatest A.D. 1649  
 part of the Protestants, and to settle on them all the  
 Churches and Ecclesiastical Benefices now in their  
 hands. I humbly conceive your Excellency shall  
 therefore do very well by some express to let his  
 Majesty speedily understand your advice therein.  
 We here believe that when the King comes for *Ire-*  
*land*, that the Queen will come thither, and that  
 all affairs will be managed by the Queen, Lord  
*Fermin* and Lord *Digby*, who is lately closed again;  
 as I am certainly advertised, and in a very strait tye  
 of friendship with Lord *Fermin*: how long it will  
 continue, I cannot assure your Excellency.

By the inclosed your Lordship will see what I  
 have here of news from the *Hague* and *Paris*. I  
 have no notice as yet that Mr. *Fanshaw* is arrived  
 in *Holland* or elsewhere; tho' Col. *Trafford* landed  
 in *France* a fortnight since. I hope by Mr. *Fanshaw*  
 your Excellency hath sent particular advice concern-  
 ing the King's coming unto you, and I wish you  
 would not spare to be frequent and full in your ad-  
 vices therein; for I am assured that the King will  
 more value, as he ought, what therein you shall  
 advise than any other person; and your prudent  
 and timely counsels may prevent the designs of the  
 busy wits about him and the Queen, who are in-  
 dustrious to counsel and get what may at any rate  
 advantage their own interests or the designs of a  
 faction.

I have herein sent your Excellency what I newly  
 received from *Paris* and my last news from *England*.  
 That concerning the rebels sea forces abroad and  
 preparing to be sent, I presume you will send to P.  
*Rupert*, for whose great good fortune at sea all  
 honest men are very glad. I am still resolved to go  
 for *Holland* as soon as I can get a Dutch ship to trans-  
 port me, conceiving that what Mr. *Fanshaw* will  
 bring his Majesty from your Excellency concerning

*A.D.* 1649 the present condition of his Majesty's affairs in *Ireland* may retard for some longer time his removal thence. Wherever I shall be, I beseech your Excellency to honour me with your commands, and to be confident that you have in me a faithful servant, who will omit no occasion or opportunity to approve himself,

*Havre de Grace, Apr. 19,*  
1649. N. S.

*My Lord, &c.*

430.

*Memorial delivered by the Lords of his Majesty's Council to the Lords Deputies for the States-General, March 29, 1649. N. S.*

HIS Majesty hath desired this conference with your Lordships, That in the first place he may by your Lordships let the Lords the States-General know the great sense he hath of the many favours he hath received from them since his being in these parts; especially in the full and high detestation they have expressed of that impious and unparallel'd murder of his Royal Father of blessed memory, their fast and unshaken Ally; by which the form and rules of all kinds of Government are no less violated and dissolved, than that of Monarchy: and to inform their Lordships, how his Majesty in this conjuncture of his affairs intends to dispose of his Royal Person, and the reasons and grounds of such his intention; and thereupon to desire their Lordships advice and assistance, by which (with God's blessing) he shall promise himself good success in his undertakings.

We need not inform your Lordships of the deplorable condition of his Majesty's kingdom of *England*, where the hearts and affections of all loyal subjects



jects are so depressed and kept under by the power <sup>A.D. 1649</sup> and cruelty of those who murdered our late Sovereign, and who every day give fresh and bloody instances of their tyranny, and fright men from their allegiance, that ( for the present ) no man can believe that miserable Kingdom to be fit for his Majesty to trust his Person in.

In *Scotland*, it is true, his Majesty is proclaimed King, but with such limitations and restrictions against his exercise of his Royal Power, that ( in truth ) they have only given him the name and denied him the authority ; above five parts of six of the Nobility and chief Gentry of that Kingdom being likewise excluded from their just rights and any part in the administration of the publick affairs ; so that as yet that Kingdom cannot be thought sufficiently prepared for his Majesty's reception. But his Majesty hopes, and doubts not that there will be in a short time a right understanding and perfect union between all his Majesty's subjects of that his Kingdom, and a due submission and obedience from them to his Majesty : for his Majesty is resolved, ( and had never the least intention or purpose to the contrary ) to preserve and maintain the government of Church and State there as it is established by the Laws in that Kingdom, without any alteration or violation on his part ; so that there can be no difference between his Majesty and his subjects of that his Kingdom, except they shall endeavour and press his Majesty to alter the Laws and Government of his other Kingdoms, which as it would be very unreasonable for his Majesty to desire without their own consents, so without such their consents it is not in his just power to do, if he should join and consent with his subjects of *Scotland* to that purpose ; and therefore ( he is confident ) when they have thoroughly weighed and considered what is good for his Majesty and themselves, they will acquiesce with the

*A.D.* 1649 enjoying the Laws and Privileges of that Kingdom, without desiring to infringe or impose upon those of their Brethren and Neighbours. And if any persons have endeavoured to make impressions in your Lordships, that the King hath or had any other intention or desires with reference to his subjects of *Scotland*, than what we have now expressed to your Lordships, his Majesty desires you to give no credit to them, and assures you, you shall always find him constant to these resolutions, and especially that all ways and means which may tend to the advancement and propagation of the Protestant Religion, shall be so heartily embraced by his Majesty, that the world shall have cause to believe him worthy of his title of Defender of the Faith, which he values as his greatest Attribute.

This being the true condition of his Majesty's two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, and it being necessary for his Majesty to give life to the afflicted state of his affairs by his own activity and vigour, your Lordships clearly discern that his other Kingdom of *Ireland* is for the present fittest to receive his Majesty's Person; and thither he intends with all convenient speed to transport himself, being thereunto earnestly advised, and with great importunity invited, by the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and by the Marquess of *Ormonde* his Majesty's Lieutenant there; by whose great wisdom a peace is there concluded, and thereby the King at this time possessed entirely of three parts of four of that his large and fruitful Kingdom, and of the command of good armies and a good fleet to be joined to his Navy: and he hath reason to believe that *Dublin* and the few other places, (who have submitted to the rebellious power in *England*) either are upon the knowledge of that odious parricide returned to their allegiance, or will be suddenly reduced; so that the affairs of that Kingdom being settled, (which we hope will be in

a short time) the King will be ready to go from *A.D 1649* thence into *Scotland*, when his presence there shall be requisite.

His Majesty holds it most agreeable to the good affection he hath and shall always bear to this State, and to the sense he hath of the obligations he hath received from it, before his going from hence, to propose and desire that any league formerly entered into between his Father of blessed memory, or any other of his Predecessors and this State may be renewed ; which for his Majesty's part he is very willing and desirous to do, and shall always constantly and inviolably observe the same : and if any larger concessions shall be desired from his Majesty which may advance the prosperity of this State, than have been heretofore granted by his Predecessors, as soon as his Majesty shall be acquainted with such desires, he will manifest how much he values their affection and alliance.

And his Majesty desires upon this communication of his counsels and purposes to the Lords the States-General, that he may receive their Lordships advice and assistance for the better transporting himself into *Ireland* with honour and security ; and whatsoever assistance they shall give him thereunto, his Majesty will always acknowledge as the most seasonable testimony of their affection ; and as soon as he shall be informed of their willingness to gratify him herein, his Majesty will make such other particular propositions by your Lordships to them concerning *Ireland* and his other important affairs, as he doubts not will be for the advantage and benefit of this State as well as for his Majesty's present conveniency.

*Hague, April 6, 1649. N. S.*

The last night there arrived here six Commissioners from *Scotland*, whereof the Earl of *Cassells* is one ; the names of the rest I know not : but there is one Knight, two Burgeses, and two Divines. The



A.D. 1649 King received them in his Bed-chamber ; it being before resolved that no ceremony or respect at all should be shewed in their reception, and that the King would not in any kind acknowledge that a Parliament, which now sits in that Kingdom, and by whom those Commissioners are sent. Their three propositions are, First, to banish *Montrose* from his Court ; 2dly, To take the Covenant ; 3dly, That his Majesty bring but a hundred with him into *Scotland*, in which number none that bore arms under his late Majesty of blessed memory are to be. And when his Majesty hath consented to these three, they will treat further concerning his reception. The impudence of these propositions doth not much lessen the interest and credit that party hath about the Court and with the Dutch, where they have a great stroke ; the Earls of *Lanerick* and *Lauderdale* having been very industrious to disaffect the Prince of *Orange* and the States in his Majesty's design of going for *Ireland*, and to make him choose rather to go for *Scotland*. But they have not at all prevailed with the Prince of *Orange*, and though they have gained therein very much on the States, yet there is hope, that some assistance will be had from them to enable and hasten the King's remove from hence, there being this day another paper sent in unto them from our King for the loan of twenty thousand pounds, which I conceive is done upon some precedent encouragement.

The Danish Ambassador who hath been here these 14 days and had audience from the States, hath not yet addressed himself to the King to whom he hath likewise an Embassy : but we believe his delay proceeds from a desire of greater advantage to his Majesty, for he does expect (they say) further instructions from his Master, who dispatch'd him before the news of our King's death came to that Court.

Paris,  $\frac{5}{15}$  April 1649. A.D. 1649

The last letters from *England* bring us the news of *Fairfax's* being questioned ; and that it is thought *Cromwell* will cut off him and *Lilborne*, and all other obstacles to his own greatness, and settle himself Lord of the new Republick, rather than go into *Ireland*, where affairs for them seem desperate enough ; *Monke* being turned out of *Ulster*, and only *Dublin* remaining (in an ill condition) to the rebels.

In *Scotland*, the Marquess of *Huntley's* head is struck off, and it's believed *Argyle* will play the *Cromwell* there.

The peace here is like to continue for the present, but there will be difficulty for the King to provide money for maintaining the war against the *Spaniard*.

Madam *de Chevreuse* is come hither with the Marquess *de Noirmontier*.

Mr. Secretary Long to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

I HAVE little to advertise from hence, more than is contained in the dispatch by Col. *Legg*, whereof this bearer brings a duplicate.

The King hath a treaty with the States, by which we hope to procure money from them. They have sent to consult with their provinces which will take up some time ; but is a sign of their good intention. If they require security for the money, it must be upon something in *Ireland* ; as the customs, or some other thing that will be valuable with them here.

There are now here Commissioners from *Scotland*, who have begun a treaty with the King : and their first demand by a paper given to the King is, that my Lord *Montrose* be immediately removed  
and

A.D. 1649 and banished from the King's presence. His Majesty's answer was, to desire them to give in all their demands before he made an answer to any one in particular. They have since given in other papers insisting upon the same demand: and his Majesty hath given in effect the same answer as formerly. What they will do upon it I cannot yet judge: many here despair of a good issue of this treaty, supposing that my Lord of *Argyle*, and that party which now prevails in *Scotland*, have too much correspondence with the Independents of *England*. Many of the States, and many others here, are much for the Scots interests; and all are of opinion that it were very happy for the King, if he could unite *Ireland* and *Scotland* in his obedience, and that all just satisfaction is to be given to the Scots to that purpose; but most are of opinion that his first personal repair ought to be into *Ireland*.

We are so unhappy as not to have heard any thing from your Excellency, nor from *Ireland*, since the dispatch by my Lord *Byron*; neither hath his Majesty received any news of his fleet since their arrival in *Ireland*; but by a letter that came by the last post we understand from *France*, that the Pope's Nuncio that hath been so long in *Ireland*, is now come into *France*, and that the peace is now fully concluded between the King and his subjects; and we wish it would be followed with the like peace with *Spain*; but of that there is yet little of appearance, for any thing that I can discern.

The King is ready and resolved to remove from hence, as soon as he can by any means be provided of money; and I dare say there will be no endeavours wanting to get it: for it is evident to all, that his Majesty's long stay here brings great prejudice to his affairs.

I wish your Excellency all happiness and good success in your honourable undertakings for the  
King's



King's service, and all prosperity in your own particular affairs : and shall ever remain, A.D. 1649

*Your Excellence's most humble*

*and most faithful Servant,*

*April 11, 1649.*

ROBERT LONG.

*The King to the M. of Ormonde.*

*My Lord,*

I AM in some trouble that I have not heard from you since my Lord *Byron* came from *Ireland*. If I may believe the general reports of these parts, you proceed very prosperously. You must have a strict eye to watch that no Agents come out of *England* to tamper with your Catholicks, and methinks the odious proceedings of the rebels there should beget horror in all honest men of what religion soever against them.

I am pressing the States here all I can for assistance of money and ships to transport me. I hope speedily to have a very good answer, and then I shall lose no time in coming to you. I have no more to say to you of the publick. but I have a particular to commend to you, that you will have a care of *Fanshawe* who is a very honest man, and an able man, of whom I need say little because he is so well known to you. I would be glad you could find somewhat in that kingdom to bestow upon him. Be assured you do not more desire to have me with you, than I do to be there, where you shall always find me,

*My Lord,*

*your most affectionate friend,*

*Hague, April 12,  
1649.*

CHARLES REX.  
*Lord*

Lord Byron to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellence,

A.D. 1649

I HAVE not much to add to what I formerly writ by Col. Legg, and Major Stephens; save only that since their departure, Commissioners are come out of *Scotland*, consisting of one Earl (the Earl of *Cassels*) two Burgeesses and four Divines, to treat with his Majesty concerning the affairs of that kingdom, or rather to impose unsufferable conditions upon him. To give the better assurance of their good intentions to his service, immediately before their coming out of *Scotland*, the Marquess of *Huntley* was put to death for no other crime but his loyalty to the King. Their propositions are as insolent as can be imagined; for they require that all malignants and evil Counsellors (and particularly the M. of *Montrose*) should be banished the Court; that his Majesty should take both the National Covenant and the *Holy League and Covenant*, (as they term it) and establish a Presbyterian Government in all his kingdoms. But the King being now unfortunately in a Presbyterian Country, cannot resent these indignities so, as otherwise he would. Howsoever, his intention is, not to enter into any particular debate of these propositions, but to remit the Commissioners till his coming into *Ireland*, the matters propounded by them concerning his other kingdoms as well as *Scotland*.

The principal endeavour here now, is to procure money for his Majesty's removal hence; which they are in good hope will be shortly obtained. It is much wondered here, that nothing hath been heard out of *Ireland* since my coming thence; which gives the Scotch Commissioners some advantage of raising

raising false reports to discourage the King from *A.D. 1649* coming thither: but we are in hope every day to hear from your Excellency; and this bearer Capt. *Moone* hath engaged himself to the King to return speedily, if your Excellence think fit. The peace in *France* is certainly concluded, and that with *Spain* (it is thought) will be a consequent of it: which we hope will be of great advantage to his Majesty's affairs. I expect daily to hear from my Lady Marchioness, when she would have the ship come to her from hence; for to send it sooner would be unnecessary charge. The P. of *Orange* expresses upon all occasions a great desire to serve your Excellence; which if you would be pleased to acknowledge in a letter to his Highness, I know it would be very kindly taken, and the entertaining of a strict correspondence with him may be very available to his Majesty's affairs. He understands English very well, though he speak it not; so that your Excellence shall not need to trouble yourself with writing in French. The Scots court him extremely to draw him to their party: but I know he hath a greater value of your Excellence than of any of them.

I shall conclude with an humble and earnest desire to your Excellence, that you would be pleased to take an especial care of your person, upon the safety whereof so much depends, and upon which (as we are assured here from very good hands in *England*) there are so bloody designs; and likewise upon my Lord *Inchiquin*. Abbot *O'Rely* is now in *England*, contributing what he can to that hellish plot, so that your Excellence ought, (if not for your own, yet for the King's sake) to be extreme careful and wary, how you adventure yourself, or whom you admit near you. The King tells me, he hath advertised your Excellence hereof by Col. *Legg*: howsoever, I thought it not amiss to repeat it here, lest that should  
mis-



A.D. 1649 miscarry ; there being no private person more concerned in your Excellence's safety, than,

My Lord, &c.

Hague, April 12,  
1649. N. S.

JOHN BYRON.

*Lord Byron to the M. of Ormonde.*

*May it please your Excellence,*

**T**HIS day the Scottish Commissioners gave in their propositions to his Majesty ; wherein they recede from what they first so violently insisted upon, concerning the banishment of the M. of *Montrose* from the Court. In other things they remit nothing of their rigidity. The King defers his answer till the P. of *Orange* return, who at present is out of town. We are in hope then likewise, that some course will be taken to supply his Majesty with money for his journey.

It is confirmed from several hands, that the King's fleet hath taken several rich prizes to a very great value ; which I hope e're this are safely arrived in *Ireland*. It is extremely wondered, that since my coming no other Express hath been sent from your Excellence, and those that oppose the King's going into *Ireland*, give that as principal reason for their opinion, though the contrariety of the winds and casualty of the passage sufficiently answers them. I have by other letters sent several ways represented this to your Excellence, and doubt not but some course will be taken to confute those false reports daily raised on purpose to divert the King from his intended journey.

The peace in *France* is concluded, and I hope will be advantageous to the King ; for the French Ambassador is recalled from *England*, with order  
to

from the Year 1641 to 1660. 270

to come away without taking leave. The Bishop <sup>A.D. 1649</sup> of Derry is so perfect in all occurrences here, that I shall not need to give your Excellence any further trouble, who am ever,

My Lord, &c.

Hague, April 15, 1649.

JOHN BYRON.

My Lord *Wentworth* commands me to present his most humble service to your Excellence. His father the Earl of *Cleveland* hath made his escape and is come hither.

*Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.*

*May it please your Excellency,*

WHILST I attended at *Havre* for a Dutch vessel to transport me into *Holland*, I received his Majesty's pleasure, that I should rather wait on him in *France*, (whither he intended shortly to come to meet our good Queen) than in *Holland*: whereupon I returned to my old station here, till I shall be ascertained of the time and place of their meeting; some saying it will be in these parts, others nearer *Paris*, if not in that City; and many, that it will be at *Cambray* in *Flanders*.

It's written to me as a secret, that Lord *Cottingham* and Sir *E. Hyde* are by the King dispatched joint Ambassadors to the King of *Spain*, to see if they can borrow money of that King: and they are to take *Brussels* in their way, to try what may be there had from the Archduke and the Duke of *Lorain*. They are it's conceived at present at *Brussels*, and thence expected this week or the next to be with our good Queen at *Paris*; from whence they are to proceed in their ambassage. The King is still in *Holland*, expecting some money to enable him to remove

*A.D.* 1649 remove thence for *France*, and so with all possible speed for *Ireland*: But I cannot conceive his Majesty can be ready to embark for that kingdom these two months, if he shall make *France* his passage thither. The peace is now well settled in this kingdom; which they owe to the miseries of poor *England* and *Ireland*, where are so manifest and sad effects of rebellion and civil dissensions. Those who stood out against the King and Queen Regent will have cause to repent of their rebellious practices, as they deserve; and I wish all such spirits may feel. I have herein sent your Excellency extracts of such news as I received from several parts.

I hear Sir *Kenelme Digby*, having been long at *Dieppe* for intelligence upon a design I formerly advertised your Excellency, is now resolved rather to go for *Ireland*, where he hopes to do much good for the Catholick cause; there being others in *England* sufficient without him to effect the same there. I have advice that the Pope's Nuncio and the M. of *Worcester* are laying their heads together at *Rouen*, by some new device to cross your prudent and loyal proceedings in *Ireland*: but he that adviseth me thereof, cannot yet penetrate into their plot; whereof if I can learn any particular, your Excellency shall be sure to have notice of it from,

*Caen, May 3,*  
1649. N. S.

*My Lord, &c.*

430.

There went by yesterday through this town an Express sent by *P. Rupert* to the King and Queen from *Ireland*, whereof I presume my Lady will give you notice, having spoken with him: but I did not see him at all by reason of his haste. Mr. *Fanshawe* is much expected in *Holland*.



*Extracts inclosed.*

*London, March 30, 1649. O. S.*

*A.D. 1649*



THE three Estates under the King in the English Parliament are now resolved into a small number in the House of Commons, who manage their great affairs by a Council of State. This is generally disgusted by most men, if they durst vent their thoughts. The greatest opposers of it are a faction of their own party, whom they call Level-  
 lers; but are indeed the true Independents according to their former principles. They are for Democracy, and rather than suffer their co-partners to lord it over them in this aristocratical way, will bustle against them, though thereby they open a gap to Monarchy again, as some of themselves profess. *Martin* and *Lilburne* are the leaders; yet the former is one of the Council of State, and had a regiment of horse voted him, but unvoted again before it was fully raised. This makes *Lilburne* lavish in expressions, and he hath promoted and presented a petition against the Council of State and the High Court of Justice (as we call it;) which taking no effect, he printed it, calling his book *England's Chains*, and since that hath put out a second part to it, which is a protestation upon the former petition. This was voted treasonable on Monday last, and the next day he and three more were apprehended and imprisoned in *Whitehall*, from whence they are removed to the Tower, and his books seized upon.

Perhaps the difference is real: however it serves for a good cloak to cover their not sending forces to *Ireland*, and yet keep in with their party in this City. The truth is, I conceive, they think it too late. *Cromwell* is chosen Commander in chief for

*A.D.* 1649 that service, and will accept of it, if they will provide sufficient and seasonable supplies for his forces ; which he knows they cannot, unless with their omnipotency they can supply his Saints with a tread-water faith ; for the Navy cannot be ready so soon as that service requires.

Prince *Rupert* thrives so well at sea, that the seamen flock that way for the most part, inasmuch as they are forced to press and set land soldiers to superintend them. This last week the news is come to our Merchants, that he hath taken the *St. Lucar's* fleet, the prize is valued at 20,0000 *l.* besides the vessels. Other ships are wanting to the number of 21 in all, and they fear they are gone the same way.

There be several small parties up in *Scotland*. The first was headed by the Earl of *Seafort's* brother, and another since by Lieutenant-General *Middleton*, who was the honestest considerable Scot in the last year's expedition. The Parliament there is adjourned till *May* : in the interim they have sent Commissioners to invite their hypothetical King. I presume you have seen the conditions upon which he is to come. I have it also from a good hand, that the two kingdoms have entered into a league to assist each other, in case either be invaded.

This last week *Pontefract* castle was surrendered, the only place that held for King *Charles II.* whom they proclaimed with great solemnity and have coined money with his inscription. That castle is voted to be demolished.

About a week since the army had a Feast and Thanksgiving-day for their former successes. I am not certain that it was on Good-friday ; but suppose it the rather, because on Easter-day they had an Humiliation and Fast for their future undertaking, especially concerning *Ireland*. *Peters* performed his old office of blowing the trumpet, and told them

that he hoped none of them would refuse to go into *Ireland*; yet they could not but go with more chearfulness, when they knew they had a particular call from God; which he promised them within 3 days. The English of it was, that on Tuesday the Colonels should cast lots what regiments should go; but that is still to do; which I impute to the news they have since received from *Ireland*, that *Ulster* hath generally declared for the King, and turned out *Monk*, and put in the Lord *Ardes* to be the Commander in chief.

London, April 2, 1649. O. S.


The news I told you in my last concerning the league between our new state and the Parliament of *Scotland* is in print, and moreover that the Scots have laid aside the thoughts of their new conditional King, and settled their resolution upon erecting another Commonwealth there.

The pretence for beheading the Marquess of *Huntley* was for not laying down arms upon the first order from the King, when he was at *Newcastle*: but the truth is, his eldest son (the Lord *Aboyne*) is lately dead without issue male; his second son died in the wars under *Montrose*; and his third son (*Lewis*) complieth with his Uncle *Argyle* and his party, and thereupon is thus honourably rewarded by being made a Marquess.

*Cromwell* is declared General for *Ireland*, yet so as *Fairfax* still must swell his empty titles, and is made Generalissimo of all their forces in *England* and *Ireland*: yet it is much disputed, whether or no any forces be intended that way. Here are none yet particularly designed for that service, either by choice or lot.

About a fortnight ago they put out 12 ships to sea; some of them being their winter fleet which came in to victual. These are all that I can hear of yet in their service: 13 more are preparing, but



A.D. 1649 will not be ready yet these three weeks; the men  
 (some of them at least) are still to press.

About a fortnight ago the Commons pass an Act against Kingly Government, and to establish a State, &c. This was sent this last week to the Lord-Mayor of *London* to proclaim, which he refusing (or at least) neglecting to do, is this day sent for as a Delinquent.

It is here commonly reported and believed, that both the French and Spanish Ambassador are recalled with instructions not to take any ceremonious farewell, but only desire a pass.

*Lilburne* and his three partners are still in the Tower. Their book was proclaimed treason, and they (though not by name) Traitors, both at *Westminster* and in *Cheapside*: yet they have a party in the City, who are gathering hands to a petition in their behalf.

All the goods of the King's Wardrobe and Jewels of the Crown (excepting such as Grandees have occasion to make use of for themselves) are now exposed to sale, as also Crown-lands, and those belonging to Deans and Chapters: yet there be some projectors who made and printed a petition to proffer that they will pay the army constantly without excise or free-quarter, if they may be trusted with the management of those lands, and yet preserve the main bulk for a dead list: but I fear these will not serve their destructive ends.

They are about demolishing and selling Cathedral Churches. I hear *Norwich* is designed already; and that the *Jews* proffer 600,000 *l.* for *Paul's* and *Oxford Library*, and may have them for 200,000 *l.* more.

*London* house is quite pulled down, and *Lambeth* is following it: and all the rarities in the King's Library at *St. James's* are vanished to nothing.

Hague, April 20, 1649. N. S.

We have intelligence from *Scotland*, that the party which is up in the North part of that Kingdom for the King (being before confessed to be 6 or 7000 men) have totally defeated *David Lesley*, who was commanded and sent down by the Parliament there to quell them : which news doth much deject the Presbyters, especially the Commissioners of that Kingdom, who have been here these three weeks and have made some propositions already to the King. The two first whereof were, that his Majesty should abandon the Marquess of *Montrose*, as a man unworthy to come near his Person, or into the society of any good men, because he is excommunicated by their Kirk. The other, that his Majesty would take the Covenant, and put himself into the arms (so they term it) of the Parliament and Kirk of *Scotland*. And by these you may easily imagine the civility of the subsequent, and I need not tell you (but leave you to guess) what cold reception they have found here.

The Swedes Ambassador and the French Resident waited yesterday severally upon the King, and very fully expressed the ready inclinations of those Kingdoms to serve and assist his Majesty against the rebels of *England*.

From another hand of April 20, 1649, from the *Hague*.

Our resolution holds for *Ireland* : want of money is that which hath kept us here all this time ; but we hope to be supplied within a short time.

The States have not yet declared themselves : they incline to continue neuters ; yet we hope loan of ships and money will be had.

The Danes Ambassador defers his audience, till he receives farther instructions from *Denmark*, which he expects with much impatience. We

A.D. 1649 have very probable hopes of good assistance from  
 ~~~~~ thence.

Yesterday the Agent for *Sweden* waited upon our King by order from his Mistress, condoling the sad occasion, and promising assistance to revenge it, and establish the King.

We hear that the loyal party in *Scotland* have given a late blow to *David Lesley*, and are a very considerable force.

We have not yet received any Express from Prince *Rupert*, but we hear that the fleet thrives notably, and that *Ireland* is in a very good condition.

Rouen, April $\frac{1}{2} \frac{8}{8}$, 1649.

From *London* it is written, and I have just now received this from a very good hand which I send you, if you have not been already advertised of it, viz. of the stout combat between my Lord of *Pembroke* and a Schismatical Tanner for a place in the House of Commons, and truly that valiant Earl hath carried it against the Tanner, and is admitted into that House.

The like is now debating between the Earl of *Salisbury* and another Mechanick, who it is thought will gain the better of that Earl.

There were lately diverse Commissioners sent into the City of *London* from the rebels at *Westminster*, (the chiefest amongst them was Sir *Henry Mildmay*) to borrow sixscore thousand pounds, pretending to set forth the Navy with that money: but those who pretend to know most, say that it is to present and bribe some who are about the King and Queen to work them to their bow.

That certainly *Cromwell* is now turned a greater Preacher than ever was *Peters*.

Hague, April 20, 1649.

No express is come from *Ireland* since the Lord
Byron's

Byron's arrival, so as if all things were ready for his Majesty's journey, I believe they would make some pause till they heard from the place. A.D. 1649

The Earl of *Lauderdale*, who pretends so much to the King's service, and to be undone for it by the power that now rules in *Scotland*, is daily in company with the Scots Commissioners: but Duke *Hamilton* appears not to have any interest in them, whatever he does privately. The first is a bigot in his Religion, and I fear in his other old opinions too.

His Majesty's motion is delayed only until the States shall have declared to his Majesty what supply they will give him; which will be within a week or ten days. It is again proposed by these States General to those of the several Provinces, and there are some intimations already given which make the King hope for some success herein; and by that time it's hoped some letters will come from *Ireland*.

It's hoped the reputation of so rich prizes taken by Prince *Rupert* will give his Majesty some credit here, if all other ways fail: whereof as soon as he shall receive certain advertisements from P. *Rupert*, 'tis conceived it will hasten his Majesty's journey for *Ireland*.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

BY mine of the $\frac{2}{19}$ th of *April* I acquainted your Excellency that I had sent to the King Col. *Trafford's* relation of the affairs of *Ireland* when he left it; whereof I thought good now by this to send you a copy, that you may the better judge of it, and by your timely and prudent advice let the King understand when it may be most seasonable for his

A.D. 1649 Majesty to come for that Kingdom, which I perceive he is still much pressed unto, upon the ground of the instructions your Excellency gave to hasten him over when he was Prince; notwithstanding the great and important alteration happened since the horrid death of our late gracious Sovereign of glorious memory. My affection to the King's service under your charge would not permit me to defer sending his Majesty that relation, lest his too much speed in coming thither might be so unseasonable as to prejudice or disturb your prudent and happy beginnings for reducing that Kingdom to its former obedience and loyalty; wherein if I have done amiss, it hath been through my over great zeal to his Majesty's service and affection to your Excellency, and the weighty affairs now incumbent on you.

I have herein sent your Excellency extracts of such occurrences as are come to my hands, humbly craving your favourable interpretation of my unskilful endeavours to serve you, having not hitherto received any directions from you to guide me to better performances, or how to apply my industry more advantageously for the King's and your Excellency's services, as is most earnestly desired by,

Caen, May 13,
1649.

My Lord, &c.

430.

Sir Robert Walsh is newly arrived at *Havre* with 300 Irish soldiers for the service of the French King, and is to land them at *Dieppe*.

*I beseech your Excellency be pleased
to decypher this yourself.*

*Extract of a Letter from Lord Hatton from
Paris, May 8, 1649. N. S.*

IT is here determined, but it is kept as a great *A.D. 1649*
secret, that Lord *Fermyn* shall go this next
week into *Holland* unto the King. Here was lately
a messenger from Prince *Rupert*, who confirms the
rumors of his prizes. The letters he brought were
to the King, and only one of compliment to the
Queen; none else to any other at our Court, no,
not to Lord *Fermyn*. The Queen, and indeed all
the King's party here are very much offended at
the discovery of Lord *Cottington* and Sir *E. Hyde's*
journey for *Spain*, and the Queen intends to dash it
and keep them with the King.

By a Letter from Paris of May 11, 1649.

It's written, that upon second thoughts Mr.
Denham is sent by the Queen to the King instead of
Lord *Fermyn*, and it's said that the King is expect-
ed at *Paris* about a fortnight hence: and it's ad-
vertised that his Majesty will not stay there above
eight days before he goes thence towards *Ireland*.

EXTRACTS inclosed.

London, April 22, 1649. O. S.

THERE is an order, that none whatsoever
may go beyond sea without engagement under
his hand never hereafter to act, aid, counsel, &c. a-
gainst this Common-wealth.

The persons in power here apprehend nothing of
danger to them from *Holland* or foreign parts; and

A.D. 1649 are told that Lord *Cottington* and Sir *E. Hyde* go for *Spain*, *Culpeper* for *Scotland* if his health permit; others otherways: and that there will be a great change suddenly in the Royal Court at the *Hague*, whither Dr. *Doriflaus* is now going as Agent from hence, and a person of the Nobility soon after to follow him; which it is thought, is not but upon great assurance of a league to be made between these and that State, whose Declaration to justify their proceedings of late is turned into Latin and published.

The lots are cast for nine Regiments to go for *Ireland* and four more are added to them: 15000 men they will be effective. They are not at all pleased with the journey. I hear *Hewson* and *Scroope* murmur, knowing how ill their fellows fare that are gone over for *Dublin*, which is in great distress of all necessaries, and *Londonderry* is supposed rendered. Marquess of *Ormonde's* men come within six miles of *Dublin* already. Prince *Rupert* and he prepare the army at *Corke*. The fleet is repaired and revictualled at *Kinsale*. Mr. *Fanshawe* is Treasurer at wars.

The Levellers here grow more and more. The men here in power are certainly in great trouble concerning them. All in *Holland* seems favourable to the Royal party; yet it's said the Scots are gone away discontent.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

BY mine of the 3d present, I gave your Excellency an account of the reason of my return to this place; since which I have received a letter from Sir *E. Hyde* of the $\frac{17}{27}$ th of *April* last, wherein he advertiseth that the King had not then received any answer from the States to a proposition delivered them

them concerning money, and that his Majesty was *A.D. 1649* not able to move without it. But he saith that Lord *Cottington* and he should go for *Brussels* within 12 days, and thence move towards *Paris*. I expect this week or the next to hear more fully touching the King's resolution, and when and where he will meet our good Queen; whereof I shall give your Excellency notice by the first.

The inclosed extracts will shew you all the advertisements I have received since my former.

It's very much and earnestly expected (as I hear) that your Excellency forthwith send to the King an account of the state of his Majesty's affairs on that side since the horrid murder of our late dear Master and Sovereign of glorious memory: and I humbly wish you would let his Majesty receive your opinion when it will be most seasonable for him to come thither, and in what manner; for it's believed the King will therein be much governed by your advice. I am resolved to attend his Majesty as soon as he shall come into *France*, if he shall think fit to come at all into this Kingdom.

When your Excellency's greater affairs shall be better settled, I beseech you to give me leave to become a suitor to you to confer at your conveniency some Ecclesiastical preferment on my poor brother Dr. *Matthew Nicholas* Dean of *Bristol* and one of his late Majesty's Chaplains in ordinary, who for his loyalty to the King and unmovable firmness to the Church of *England*, is despoiled of all he hath in that Kingdom. I shall not give you any other character of him, but only that he is a very honest man and an orthodox Minister of the Church of *England*: and I presume all that know him will say as much of him. I am myself so entirely devoted to your Excellency's service, as I shall take it for a great honour and happiness if some of those of nearest relation to me and of whom I have justly the best opinion,

A.D. 1649 nion, may become servants to you and your noble family, as well as, &c.

Caen, May 10,
1649, N. S.

430.

EXTRACTS inclosed.

Paris, April 30, 1649.

AFTER many intreaties from hence and frequent deliberations at Court for the King's coming to *Paris*, at last a letter de Cachet was brought to the Parliament, wherein the King tells them that having resolved his coming hither, the siege of *Ypres* and the activeness of the enemy did call him speedily away towards *Flanders*; so that this is the day appointed for his remove to *Chantilly* and to-morrow to *Compiègne*. In the mean time there are hopes given, that the Council shall come and remain here; though some doubt whether the Chancellor will yet adventure himself amongst this unsettled people, who persist still in their backwardness to pay their accustomed duties. Nor are they yet quiet in *Touraine*, *Anjou* and *Gascony* (though fresh letters assure, that at *Bordeaux* they have laid down their arms:) and it is hoped that the Duke of *Orleans's* presence, who is now going into these parts, will settle the other Provinces. The Prince of *Condé* continues his intention for *Burgundy*: he hath of late been indisposed in his health, and many question how he is satisfied in his mind to see the Cardinal's kind reception of the Duke de *Vendosme*, the promise of marriage between the Duke de *Mercoeur* and one of the Cardinal's Nieces, and (as some will have it) the Admiralty for the portion; besides which they speak of a treaty of a match between the Duke de *Joyeuse* and another of his Nieces.

The

The Cardinal hath also exchanged the Government of *Fontainebleau* for *St. Germain*, to which he adds the command of *Meulan* where he fortifies; by which means having *Pont de Larche*, *Ponteaudemere*, and *Havre* at his devotion, he will have a secure retreat in case of danger; if these new foundations of his greatness happen again to be shaken. The preparations for this campaign, compared with former years, go on but slowly; partly because they are constrained to keep some troops within the Kingdom, but chiefly for want of money wherewith to set out the rest; so that *Erlack's* army, which now marcheth towards *Flanders*, is the strength of their hopes. Upon Sunday last the Venetian Ambassador dispatched his Secretary to *Pinneranda* to adjust the place and time of meeting for the treaty of peace between the two Crowns, to which these here seem much inclined; the necessity of their affairs absolutely requiring either the conclusion of the peace that they may have no need, or the King's return to *Paris*, that so they may find means to raise monies.

St. Venant is taken by the Spaniards.

Paris, May 3, 1649.

The King of *England* is still uncivilly pressed by the Scots; but they grow daily less even in the opinion of those of our countrymen who were of their party.

Fresh news from *Leith* Road to *Holland* says, that *David Lesley* was returned from the northern parts to *Edinburgh* only with four or five men, the rest being totally destroyed or prisoners; and he himself had certainly lost three of his fingers, since which *Argyle* endeavours to raise forces in the South, but cannot.

It's thought *Montrose* shall suddenly for those parts again, with the Lord *Seaforth*, whose brother is now the chief opposer of *Argyle* and his faction.

There

A.D. 1649 There is come into *Holland* the Earl of *Cleveland* and several *Colchester* Officers, as Mr. *Jervais Hollis*, *Tucke* and *Hammond*: they are setting out a declaration concerning that business.

Duke *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Lauderdale* are gone from the King, and it is said for *Germany*.

Rouen, May 5, 1649.

By divers letters from *London* I find, that the Merchants there are very much troubled at their losses by the fleet under the command of P. *Rupert*, and that the rebels are ready to send out a great fleet under the command of *Popham* and *Blague*; which *Blague* I believe was Governor for them at *Taunton*.

The Countess of *Carlisle* hath been again shewn the rack; but she desires them not to hurt her, for she is a woman and cannot endure pain, but she will confess whatsoever they will have her.

My Lady *Isabella Thynne* and Mrs. *Howard* are escaped from them.

The M. of Ormonde to Lord Digby.


My Lord,

I Am sure it is not needful to persuade you by any preamble, that my advices concerning the disposal of your person are not swayed by any affections or aim of mine, other than such as absolutely terminate in the advancement of the King's service and your honour and interest; and therefore I shall briefly deliver you my sense and reasons as clearly and positively as I can guide my self by the present variable state of things.

The principal foundation wherein I suppose you are determined to build your fortune is the favour of our King, wherein your interest ought to be, (and considering his excellent nature and understanding I doubt

doubt not will be) as great as any man can pretend to, whether in the disposal of it he make use of that sweet disposition by which he will be induced to consider the past services and sufferings of a whole family to and for his father, or of that judgment by which I doubt not he will make choice of faithful and able Ministers to manage the great work of his Restoration. This ground being laid, I conceive the use you will make of the interest and reputation you have purchased in the French service, and of the endeavours of your friends and servants, will be to place you in a station wherein with honour to yourself you may best advance the regaining of his Majesty's Crown; without which we can only have the honour to be constant unwearied sharers in the miseries of an exiled Prince: and than the place you hold of Secretary of State I know none, wherein the King can be at this time more properly or happily serv'd by you; since your experience in it, especially as to foreign negotiations, by which alone we can probably hope for any chearful entrance into our work, and your eminently faithful and judicious discharge of it in the most dangerous and least advantageous times of our late Master, seems so to appropriate it to you, and you for it, that certainly no man having the least pretence of ability can want the modesty not to lay aside so injurious an usurpation of your pretensions upon the least knowledge of your aiming at it: so that I make it no question, but that to desire and have that employment will be at the very instant one and the same thing; unless there be a fixed general rule of disposing of no employments, which I conceive not possible without some exception, or that the exception can be with greater reason of any place than this.

Having thus in my own judgment, and (if I be not highly mistaken) without the least help of my affection, undoubtedly placed you in the employment;

A.D. 1649  ployment; the sole remaining doubt with me is, whether being invested in that trust your Lordship should come with the King or stay in *France*: and I confess, notwithstanding the apparent advantages to me by your being here, and my indulgence to my own pleasure in your company, yet for the main I incline to your stay in *France*. My reason is, that if the peace in *France* (which I was not certain of when *Walsingham* writ my sense upon this subject) be succeeded by a peace with *Spain*, which we are made believe is in some forwardness, I am confident *France* must seek new pretences to keep armies on foot, and really employ some of those armies abroad, both to satisfy the people why those forces are kept on foot, and of the necessity of raising monies to support them. And I can see no pretence more suitable to justice and honour, or that (as I hear) will be more popular, than that of revenging the execrable murder of our late King. Now lest when these armies and monies are raised for this end, they might upon some offered opportunity of enlarging their own Empire divert the means of restoring his Majesty, I conceive such a witness of their actions, and a remembrancer of their obligations as your Lordship most necessary: and much the rather, if my Lord *Jermyn* should come with the King hither, as we hear is designed; in which case your Lordship may be best qualified with the authority of an Ambassador, as well as with the trust of a Secretary.

This will be a sufficient preventative against the workings of any that may endeavour to keep, or rather to put, you at a distance from his Majesty's trusts and affection; there being no greater trusts than these, nor any likelier means to settle you in his Majesty's favours, than the frequent intercourse of dispatches that must necessarily be betwixt you, and the satisfaction and (I hope) essential fruits he will receive

receive by your negotiation; upon which he will *A.D. 1649*
quickly set another kind of value, than upon those
little assiduities about his person; for which, give
me leave to tell you, you are less proper, and in
which you are far behind, as you are before hand,
with others in more essential services.

All this is taking it for granted, that you are, or
will be settled in that place; but in case, upon some
general resolution, that be not, nor you left in any
such kind of employment in *France*, I am then ab-
solutely of opinion, you should not suffer yourself
to be shaken off, but accompany the King hither;
for whose service as well as your honour I am of this
opinion.

Our condition here, in relation to the enemy's
weakness and the affections of most under his com-
mand, is most hopeful: our only allay is in the po-
verty of the country, which makes us as unable to
reward services and fearful to punish seditious spirits,
which yet have some influence upon the people;
but though this gives a very unseasonable retard-
ment to great success, yet I apprehend no present
danger by it, and in spite of these impediments,
we have daily little handsome earnest of greater
matters.

I will not tell you how welcome your Lady and
your family may be to all that is in the power of

Your Lordship's

*Kilkenny-Castle,
May 22, 1649.*

most faithful humble Servant,

ORMONDE.

A.D. 1649



Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

MY last to you was of the $\frac{1}{2}\frac{4}{4}$ of *May*; since which time I have received the several advertisements inclosed, which I thought good to endeavour to hasten to your Excellency, that you might the better understand the motions in *Holland, England* and *France*. Of the three Ladies who were so severely pursued by the rebels in *England*, the Lady of *Carlisle* is said to be now out of the Tower, though under constraint; the Lady *Aubigny*, being escaped into *Holland*, is there lately dead; and the Lady *Isabella Thynne* is come hither. We are here now in great expectation what will be the success of the encounter between *Fairfax, Cromwell, &c.* and the Levellers in *England*, (which I doubt will be composed without blows,) and no less earnest in our prayers for some good news of your Excellency's prevailing against *Dublin*. From *Brittany* it's advertised hither, that some seamen lately come from the English coast over against *Brittany* report, there have been lately some Dutch and *Hamburgh* vessels taken up in those western parts of *England* and carried into *Falmouth* by some of the rebels ships, there to transport (as it's said) horse into *Ireland*. Albeit I cannot affirm the truth of this, I thought it not amiss to acquaint your Excellency with it, as an intelligence of importance, if true; whereof I presume you will have (if it be so) more particular advice from *Scilly* or from sea.

I shall (God willing) to-morrow begin my journey towards *Paris* to do my duty to the Queen there, and to attend his Majesty's coming into *France*: but now that the rebels are so strong in shipping at sea, (having now about 50 sail, with the

ten ships that came lately out of *Portsmouth*, whereof A.D. 1649
 at least six are of the first and second rank) I cannot
 conceive it counsellable for his Majesty as yet to ad-
 venture to go for *Ireland*: and I am advertised by
 very good hands, that his Majesty will not attempt
 to go thither, unless you advise it. There have no
 letters come from you to the King, or into *Holland*,
 since the Lord *Byron*'s arrival, as it's written from
 the Low Countries. I have it from several goods
 hands from *England* and elsewhere, that the Eng-
 lish rebels looking upon your Excellency and Lord
Inchiquin (but chiefly on your Lordship) as the
 greatest obstacles which hinder their being as abso-
 lute Conquerors and Sovereigns in *Ireland*, as they
 now conceive and boast themselves to be in *England*,
 have hired at least 6 or 8 of the most desperate villains
 of their own faith to assassinate both your Lordships,
 but your Excellency in the first place, and have set
 a very considerable reward for whosoever shall per-
 petrate that damnable act on your Persons. I hope
 some friend of at least one of your Lordships will
 from *England* give you notice and description of
 some of those bloody assassins; and if it shall
 please God that you shall apprehend but one of
 them, I hope the Council there will then exact a
 full discovery of the rest of the complices and of
 their devilish design. In the mean time I humbly
 conjure your Lordships to take timely and all neces-
 sary care for both your Lordships securities, where-
 by to circumvent such horrid and hellish attempts,
 considering (besides the invaluable loss of your per-
 son) the irreparable distraction of all the King's af-
 fairs now under your single care and conduct. And
 I confess, I very much apprehend that the deserved
 execution of that bloody villain *Dorislau*s may in-
 cite those rebels the sooner to attempt some villany
 against your person, whom they value no other than
 a rebel against their rebellious Republick. I beseech

A.D. 1649 your Excellency pardon this my earnest importunity for your care of your person, which I presume to do, as I am his Majesty's faithful servant, and most passionately and sincerely,

Caen, June 7,
1649.

My Lord, &c.

430.

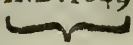
P. S. I hear there are at *Rouen* a brood of about nine Capuchins with a Provincial of that Order and a Bishop of *Limerick* preparing to come for *Ireland*, being thereto authorized by the Pope's especial mission, and that they intend to land at *Limerick* as soon as they can get passage. The Levellers are all defeated in *England*. The King is expected at *Paris* about ten days hence. It was one *Whitford* a Scotch-man that killed *Doriflaus*, but others of his country were present at it. He is now safe in *Brussels*.

EXTRACT.

Be pleased to decypher this yourself.

Hague, May 1⁸, 1649.

SINCE I writ last, all the old Counsellors here were sworn; at which Mr. *Long* was so discontented, that he procured himself to be sworn the next day; which I believe will not turn to his advantage, being expressly told, that it signified nothing to any place; and if I judge aright, the King thinks of nothing less than using him for Secretary, tho' he hath seemed not to doubt of it. Nay I hear and really believe, he is as odious at *Paris* as here: indeed he is a strange man. If my intelligence be true, Lord *Percy* hath no great cause to brag of his power

power at the *Louvre*, and I am sure he hath few *A.D. 1649*
friends here. 

Paris, May 7, 1649.

The King is at *Compiègne*, and the Council, (as in my last) at the same time the Court removed came hither, where to welcome the Chancellor and to secure him from part of his many fears, the Bacheliers were solemnly presented to him by Monsieur *de Saintot* Master of the Ceremonies, to whom the Chancellor, after he had heard their oration, made his speech also; and in it took occasion to assure them, that at Court there was no design at all to poison the Duke of *Beaufort*; and that his sickness which the world reported to proceed from venom, was but a cholick after an over heating himself at *Tennis*. But the kind Boatmen not satisfied with this, went themselves to visit the Duke, and (notwithstanding what the Duke de *Vendosme* could do to keep them from troubling his son) pressed into his chamber, and told him, that if any thing fell out amiss with him it should not be unrevenged: and of this the Council was so apprehensive, that had not the Duke of *Beaufort* suddenly recovered, they were resolved instantly to pack away with all speed. I am the more particular in this relation to shew the manifest change of temper and constitution and how sensible this (in their own opinion) so robustuous Monarchy can now be of a petty fleabite. And truly till they make peace with *Spain*, every little disorder will be of great consequence, for the kingdom is much unsettled.

Bourdeaux is still in arms, and in *Anjou*, *Touraine* and *Burgundy* the King's soldiers sent to keep the Provinces in awe exercise no less rapine and violence than a foreign enemy; without which rigor no money to pay the armies will be drawn from the people; upon which necessity of making peace, the Cardinal is going in person to treat. It is spoken

A.D. 1649 of, and that he hath been heard to say, he will not return without an Olive Branch, the only means now left him to secure the kingdom, and to ingratiate himself with the people. Their affairs abroad also go very ill, *St. Venant* being taken, and *Ypres* given for lost; and what no less troubles them the in-execution of the German peace is like to recall *Erlacke* into the Empire, of which there is now much spoke: nay some are confidently of opinion, he must return to save his army from disbanding; which consisting for the most part of Germans, hath a natural aversion from being employed in the Flandrian war,

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

I Arrived here two days since, and the next morning received from *England* the advertisements inclosed from several good hands; which I held most necessary to hasten to your Excellency, and which I humbly wish may be sent with all speed to *P. Rupert*, if it come not too late to your hands. The King was to come from *Holland* the $\frac{1}{11}$ of this month to *Breda* and thence to *Brussels*; and though there be yet no certainty that he hath begun his journey, yet it's so confidently believed that he held his day prefixed, as the Lord *Fermyn* and the Lord *Percy* went yesterday to meet him at *Brussels*. But the Queen tells me, it will be 15 days before his Majesty comes into these parts, and that he will come to *St. Germain's* and not hither.

The Levellers are quelled in *England* for the present: and now the rebels there seem to prepare to send forces (about 6 or 8000) for *Ireland*, and *Cromwell* gives forth he will go with them; which few believe. It's said, the King will within one month
or

or two after his coming for *France*, though with hazard, adventure to go for *Ireland*; since it holds for granted, that your advice is, that he should hasten thither. A.D. 1649

I am so newly come to this place, as I have not yet had any time to inform myself of any thing here of importance and certainty worthy your Excellency's knowledge: but I perceive there is very great expectation to have some letters from you of the present state of his Majesty's affairs on that side; which I hope you have sent, or will hasten very speedily. Since the swearing of the Councillors in *Holland*, there hath been nothing there done, but in order to get money, which rises very slowly, and in very inconsiderable sums for ought I hear. If I may be in any condition or capacity to serve your Excellency, I shall do it very affectionately and faithfully, and to the better advantage, if I may by your prudent directions know how to apply my endeavours therein; for I humbly assure you, I am very heartily and entirely,

My Lord, &c.

Paris, June 19, 1649.

430.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

SINCE my last I have had the honour to receive yours of *May 24*, by *Mr. Slingsby*, being the only letter I have had from you, since my Lord *Byron* came from *Ireland*. I have fully acquainted his Majesty with what you have so particularly written to me concerning all his affairs under your care, and find him not only extremely well satisfied with what you have done, but clearly of opinion, that (next under God's blessing) nothing but your Excellency's prudent conduct could

A.D. 1649 so long and so successfully have struggled with so many and so great difficulties, as you have met with on all hands in his Majesty's most important businesses on that side. I find his Majesty is absolutely resolved to go for *Ireland*, as soon as it shall be possible for him to pass with any probable safety.

I have not only shewn his Majesty what you wrote touching the two alliances with *Spain* or *Sweden*: but have oft had speech with him of the latter, and find him very much of your mind, that *Sweden* may in all probability be the most advantageous for him, as things now stand; whereof peradventure my next may tell you more. Now that Lord *Cottington* and Sir *E. Hyde* are come hither, it's believed his Majesty will before it be long take resolution, concerning his removal hence, and in other affairs which have been put off until their coming. But the sad news of the rebels taking Col. *Will. Legg*, and Col. *Windham* gives great trouble to all here: for besides the loss of those honest, gallant men, and of the advertisements expected by them, it shews the passage into *Ireland* is more hazardous than was before believed.

The King says, he will not in *France* make any Officer or Councillor; which hath sent the Earl of *Bristol* and Lord *Digby* hence much unsatisfied: but the Lord *Hatton* and myself made it our suit to his Majesty not to be sworn Councillors, unless he would declare in what places we should serve him; being not ambitious of any such charge, until his Majesty shall judge us fit for it. If I am not much deceived, the Queen will not have so ruling a power in the King's affairs as was expected by some and imagined by all. I assure your Excellency, his Majesty hath a very good insight already into businesses, and when he is well settled in a good resolution, is not easy to be altered. He is a great observer of those that are real in his employments, and though

he use graciously all men, yet he makes good distinction between such as have approved themselves perfectly hearty to his just cause, and those who have been half-hearted or neuters. A.D. 1649

It's advis'd, that there are other Commissioners coming from *Scotland* to the King, of better quality than the former; but it's believed his Majesty will not vary from the effect of his former answer: and truly that is so large in the point concerning the Covenant, as it unsatisfies all honest men that love the discipline of the Church of *England*. There came hither lately from *Youghall* a Frenchman sent by P. *Rupert* with letters to the King, but what the effect of them is I hear not. The King will have little or no money to bring with him to *Ireland*, as those that best know assure me. I have herein sent you an extract of the last news we have here received from *England*: but I doubt some of it is too good to be true. I shall now add no more to your trouble, but to assure you that I am entirely, &c.

St. Germain's, Aug. 7.
1649, N. S.

430.

Extract inclosed.

I HAVE sifted a great Papist to know how the squares went between them and *Cromwell*, (because I found the business (as I conceive) asleep, at least for the present :) his answer was a strong assurance that the business between them was clearly broke off; wherein to my apprehension, by all the circumstances I could fish out of him, he hath spoken near upon the truth.

Another question I moved concerning *Owen O Neile*, how the case stood between him and the Parliament; his answer was, that for that he could not speak with so much confidence to it as to the former;

A.D. 1649 former; but he had it from a good author (which after he named, *viz.* the Lord *Brudenel*) that that Gentleman had about three weeks ago written a letter to *Cromwell* to thank him for his care he had of him, and his army, in paying this half year: but he desired him withal to consider, that his promise was but conditional, as pre-supposing the Pope's approbation, which he could never obtain, but on the contrary had received a peremptory command to do nothing prejudicial to the Crown of *England*; and upon this (it is probable) came that report a while since, that *O Neile* was joined with the Marquess of *Ormonde*.

We have had several various flying reports concerning a Treaty between the Earl of *Derby* and *Ireton* concerning the delivering up the Isle of *Man*. All that I can conclude as a truth from what I hear is, that there is such a thing on foot; it was strongly reported on Thursday last, the bargain was made, and livery and seisin given and taken; but the next day and ever since the tide hath seemed to be turned; and something there is which they mutter, but will not speak out, concerning *Ireton's* miscarriage in that business. I meet with several flying reports by those that desire it, that he is prisoner there, taken and kept by the Islanders, upon the sense they had of the business of being bought and sold; and some say that some of his forces being landed are in the same condition; but this latter I suspect, how true soever the former may be. All that I can say is, that it is a thing much desired by *Cromwell*, as a secure retreating place for him and his creatures, howsoever the wind blows; and while money comes in so easily he will stand for no price. And yet the 150,000 *l.* sticks still where it did, the Citizens are very hide bound and yet the overture of adjournment is laid aside for the present. They are still at a stand about re-admitting the excluded Members and restoring those that are imprisoned
in

in *Windsor* castle; they have appointed to-morrow ^{A.D. 1648} for the debate of that which they can rub off with pretence of other business, if this day's post from *France* does not give them some farther light into the King's resolutions; for I am still of opinion, that is the card they steer this action by; as also their new expedition which stands as it did. *Cromwell* is still at *Bristol*, and all his forces all along the western coast, but in no likelihood of a very speedy transportation. It is here reported that *Tredagh* and *Dundalk* are taken, and that *Dublin* is block'd up by water as well as by land.

They have order'd the compleating of their forces under *Fairfax* to 1200 in every foot regiment, and 100 in every troop of horse, and that seven regiments more shall be raised to be in readiness as auxiliaries, but to have no pay (at least above board) till there be more use for them.

The Scots have three regiments of horse (in English nine troops) within ten miles of the borders.

Lord Jermyn to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord,

THERE has been of late so few occasions of sending to your Lordship, and so many uncertainties in the King's resolution, that I have had no pleasure in writing to you. I presume this will come safe and quick to you; I shall therefore take the liberty to advertise you of as much as I understand of our affairs, ever since your Lordship sent my Lord *Byron* with the news of the peace and even before it. It has been the Queen's constant opinion, that the King had nothing in the world to do but to hasten into *Ireland* with all possible diligence: and to that end did both before my Lord *Byron* arrived and

A.D. 1649 and ever since press, with numerous re-iterations in all her dispatches, his sudden parting. The first and the best seasons for it elapsed upon the point of money; at least that was the reason was shewn for the delay: but I do believe the hope of coming to some better agreement with *Scotland* had a little share therein too. Both these together did prevail until the latter was grown desperate: and then there did appear means of removing the former difficulties; which is some evidence, that they all had not been sufficient for so much harm and hazard as the affairs here have been exposed to by the King's staying so long from you.

The ground upon which a nearer agreement with *Scotland* was despaired of, was the giving *Montrose* a commission of Lieutenant-General with instructions to solicit several Princes for means for it, and being furnished therewith to constrain *Scotland* to those things in our behalf, that we could not obtain by Treaty. *Montrose* is gone about this undertaking with great assumptions of being in estate to make an attempt suddenly upon *Scotland*: but I am fully persuaded that he will not be able to put himself into a condition for it so soon, if ever, as he is willing to say he shall. There was much division amongst those that served the King at the *Hague* about these things. Those that desired the conjunction with the Scots were willing to see the King's parting for *Ireland* retarded, as that which kept alive the hope of it; and those that desired the going to *Ireland* did never think themselves secure enough, until the agreement with the Scots by some unusual way of proceeding with them were rendered totally desperate: and sure they were both equally in the wrong, for the first ought to have sought the conjunction with *Scotland* by hastening into *Ireland*, and the others, secured of that point, should have made it their whole work to have disposed the minds of the Scots so to that counsel, as when the King should have been in *Ireland*,

land, there might have been no 'impediment inter-
posed from us against the drawing the Scots into
our party, if they be capable of entering into it up-
on such satisfactions as we are capable of giving
them.

In the time of the King's stay at the *Hague* de-
layed from day to day and week to week upon the
point of want of money, these inconveniences grew,
and it was not possible for the Queen to help them ;
although (as I observed to your Lordship in the
beginning) she did press enough his parting, which
had been, if hearkened unto, a sufficient remedy.
The King is now at length come thus far : when he
parted, he had no thought of staying thus long,
but did believe his ships would have been sooner
ready, and if they had been so, would have the
way of the Northern passage, and so have gone a-
bout the Scotch Islands and North of *Ireland*, and
have endeavoured to land in some of the Western
ports. The season being now past for that course,
the mists and great winds and long nights being too
near, he must resolve upon the Southern passage :
and as in regard to the safety of his getting to you,
he must in the first resolution have taken care to
have missed the winter ; so in this the winter or the
beginning of it seems to be his greatest security ; for
the Parliament ships must retire, and besides, the
long nights and stiff winds are as much to be desired
this way, as they were to be feared the other. He
expects news that his ships will be ready in *Holland*
within these ten days, to be then sent to any port he
shall resolve to embark at. From that time they may
be suddenly after, where they shall be appointed to
come ; but that is not yet fixed on : but 'tis like to
be either *Port-Louis*, or *Brest*, *Rochelle*, or *Bayone* ;
perhaps some other ; but if any other, it will occa-
sion but little difference in the matter. Where the
King will also wear out the time that he ought now
to

A.D. 1649 to stay, before that in which it will be fittest for him to embark, is also a point unresolved: but is not neither of any consequence for you to be informed of. It does suffice that you know that he will have ships ready, likely at one of the ports I have named, and that about a month, 5 or 6 weeks hence, he will embark himself to come to you: and this is the positive conclusion which I can foresee nothing likely to alter in any circumstance of moment.

The state of his business here in general is this; that unless there happens there a conjunction of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and important divisions in *England*, or means to raise a great foreign force, he is not like to be in a condition to make any considerable attempt upon *England*: so that for that purpose, that which he hath to do seems to be to bring one of those three into the case, without which he cannot be fit for it; and in the mean space, as that which is the only thing in the world in order presently thereunto, to labour the settlement of *Ireland* by all imaginable means and industry. I conceive it is the business of his present consultations, to consider before he moves what is to be done towards the uniting of *Scotland*, fomenting the inclinations of dividing in *England* and the getting of a foreign force. By my next I shall perhaps be able to tell you the particular resolutions. His last answer to *Scotland* did promise a messenger of his own to be sent to them, by whom they should understand more of his intentions than he could then declare; but whether this messenger will be dispatched from hence or kept till he be in *Ireland*, who it shall be, or how instructed, is not yet at all determined. All the parts of the matter admit difficulties, even who is to be chosen, when sent, and with what, and another as difficult as any of the rest, to whom; the point of avowing them to be a Parliament, declaring them to be none, or a middle way being in question.

The

The last thing, by whose hands and advice the *A.D. 1649*
 King will resolve to manage his affairs, is as of the
 greatest moment of all, so of the greatest difficulty:
 and your Lordship may conceive, since some resolutions are wanting in other matters, the reason most like to be of such delay in a season, wherein it is more necessary to conclude ill than debate, is that all those persons are not yet fixed upon. As much as I know concerning it I will tell your Lordship; by which you may perhaps make some near guess what is like to be the last resolution. As yet the King hath no Counsellors but those sworn in *Holland*, namely Lord *Lane*, Lord *Cottington*, Lord *Brainford*, Lord *Hopton*, Lord *Colepepper*, Sir *E. Hyde*, and Mr. *Long*. He hath been moved by the Queen since his being here to add to that number all those at present here, that were of his father's Council, as *Bristol*, Lord *Digby*, Lord *Hatton*, and Sir *E. Nicholas*. The King's answer to that was, that he had taken a resolution of suspending their admittance till he should be in *Ireland*; but that there he would do it. The Queen was much surprized with this answer, and making it known to Lord *Digby*, he spoke with the King in the particular of the others and himself: but did obtain no alteration, and the matter stands so yet; but I do find there is an intention to try again the King's mind, and perhaps that he may alter in. I cannot say assuredly he will or will not, nor till then, how those persons are like to dispose of themselves. The King's refusing to swear Lord *Digby* a Counsellor hath suspended hitherto all other attempts for the settling him in his place, but those of keeping it void for him; which have been and will be effectual, unless he should consent himself to have one made; which I think he will not. Mr. *Long* will undoubtedly remain for one, and it will be the Queen's labour to get Lord *Digby* to be the other; and from that engagement nothing will

A.D. 1649 will be able to loosen her, but Lord *Digby's* own desire. In the event if any thing should happen that should beget in Lord *Digby* any such desire, which I cannot foresee, her next thought would undoubtedly fall upon Sir *E. Nicholas*. Touching other places, the King is not (I think) without some secret engagements: but professes he is reserved and will be so, till a further view into his affairs render him more capable of making the best choice in those of the greatest importance.

For the resolutions which all the several persons of note will take, all the light I have yet is this which I shall now give you in this particular. The Lord *Digby* will (I believe) govern his resolutions by those the King shall take in his satisfaction touching his place. Lord *Colepepper* does not yet declare what he will do; but I think he will attend the King: and truly, my Lord, we do hope here that he will be useful to your service there. Lord *Cottington* and Sir *E. Hyde* pursue their Spanish voyage. Lord *Hopton*, I think, will go with the King. Lord *Bristol* will not, nor Lord *Hatton*. What Sir *E. Nicholas* also will do, will depend upon the resolution in the matter of his place: Mr. *Long* will come to you in the full exercise of his. Lord *Percy* does not yet declare what he will do in the point of going, nor Lord *Brainford*. Lord *Wilmot* will undoubtedly go, and with a mind prepared to be directed by your advice in all things: and will be one of those that I presume your Lordship will have most inclination to have confidence in. He has ever since he parted from the Queen governed himself according to the same rules you saw him hold at *St. Germain's* when the King went away. Lord *Gerard*, Lord *Cleveland*, and Lord *Wentworth* will certainly attend the King. I shall (for I think it necessary to give you some account of myself, though not in the number of those I took to be of note) stay here with

with some directions from the King to look after ^{A.D. 1649} that which will pertain to his foreign affairs; which for the present signifies nothing, but in case the peace shall be made would be perhaps his first concernment. The present state of the peace you shall find in the inclosed paper. Lord-Keeper, I think, will go into *Ireland*.

Among all these persons, those which are used in that which hath yet been done are Lord *Cottington*, Lord *Colepepper*, Sir *E. Hyde* and Mr. *Long*, as those which with some more care than others look after the business. Lord *Digby*, when he was here, was trusted with all things. What new, or whether any, will be added before the King go, I do not perfectly know; only this I do, that if there be any, they will have all such orders touching you, as you will have no difficulty in doing all the things of your own sense, and will have very good use of their services. The Queen's desire is that your authority in the affairs, and interest and confidence in the King should be as ample and entire, as they are necessary. She is infinitely desirous, the intelligence between P. *Rupert* and you should be preserved with the greatest care, and will, when she shall see farther into the last resolutions for all the persons that go, instruct some one most fit for that trust to communicate more particularly to you all that may pertain to that matter, than can well be done by letters.

If the messenger did allow me more time, I should not yet give over; though I think it seldom falls out, that any man writes so many words that signify so little. At least they will signify this to you, that really we are no farther advanced than this amounts to, in all the things I write of. This messenger carries a duplicate of a dispatch to you, that I take to be of too much moment to stay him a moment for any thing I can now add. Wishing your

A.D. 1649 Lordship therefore all happiness, I remain in the
unalterable truth and zeal I have vowed to your
service,

My Lord, &c.

St. Germain's, Aug. 10,
1649.

H. JERMYN.

P. S. I omitted to tell you, that a strong inclination of the Queen of retiring into the *Carmelites*, and consequently having no more to do in the King's business (which by the way I must observe to you has been occasioned by the great oppression of grief since the King's death) has been one of the reasons so much time hath been lost, as seems to be, in coming to such resolutions as the present condition of things admits of taking.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

I beseech you to decypher this yourself.

THere is here at this instant, whether the Lord *Jermyn* and his faction, or *Tho. Elliot* and *Sir Edw. Herbert* (who are of *P. Rupert's* party) shall have the chief interest in the management of the King's affairs. The first by the advantages of this place have yet the better of it: but it is believed when the King goes hence (especially if he go not for *Fersey*) that the other party will get the helm into their hands. In the mean time nothing is settled or acted by sad and serious counsel, but by catches and on occasion, to the heart-breaking of all knowing men that are faithful to the King.

I am now told as a secret, that there is a letter now delivered to the King from the Queen of *Sweden*, acquainting his Majesty that the Scots have pressed her to intercede for them to his Majesty ;
which

which she hath absolutely refused to do, saying, she *A.D. 1649*
will not interpose between his Majesty and his sub-
jects. She hath further assured the King, that she
will join with any Prince in assisting him to recover
his Crowns and just Rights, but adviseth his Majesty
to forbear as yet to send any extraordinary Embassa-
dor to her for some weighty reasons. These things
I beseech you to keep to your self.

St. Germain's, Sept. 4,
1649. N. S.

Letter to the M. of Clanricarde.

My most honourable good Lord,

THESE are to present my humble service and
to assure your Lordship of my hearty and con-
stant wishes for your happy success in all your affairs,
and if the sins of that kingdom be not greater than
the offences of those who have murdered our King
and ruined this nation, I doubt not but to see your
Lordship and his Majesty's friends there fortunate
and glorious in the close of your labours. In the
mean time both I and many others are much dis-
couraged with the proceedings at *St. Germain's*, where
our King hath declared for the Presbyterian party
and signed the Scotch Articles: the State of *France*
hath ever run with that faction, and our Queen with
the State of *France*. In my judgment, if his Ma-
jesty shall totally rely on the Presbyterian party, ex-
cluding his friends of that Kingdom, he will never
recover his crown here. The defeat given to a part
of the Marquess of *Ormonde's* army before *Dublin*,
Aug. 2d, hath furnished his enemies with arguments
to lessen his worth in the eye of his Majesty, who
had harboured a great opinion of his abilities and
loyalty: but our sins are not as yet expiated, and
the present carriage of affairs is only a preparation
X 2 for

A.D. 1649 for greater disorders than perhaps have been seen since the beginning of our unhappy troubles. Howsoever, I do continue in my former opinion, that this Kingdom is not to receive wished comfort, but by the way and help of *Ireland*: yet most here are of opinion that Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* will absolutely subdue and conquer that nation, and I do confess that he hath used more human prudence and policy for that purpose than ever was practised by any conqueror whatsoever; for I do assure your Lordship that he had three hundred thousand pounds sterling to make his provisions, and he carried with him of meal, flower, rice, all sorts of spices, butter, cheese, malt (besides a great quantity of biscuit,) sufficient for one half year; moreover arms and ammunition in a great abundance, and choice men for his army.

His design is to engage the Marquess of *Ormonde* in a fight, and that as suddenly as he can; *Scipio* the African wisely subdued his potent enemy, and preserved his country, by waving and evading all engagements.

Present my humble service to my Lord Marquess of *Ormonde*, and tell him from me, that if he put Monarchy before his eyes in the first place, and promise to God to maintain and make good his engagements made to Catholics, he will be fortunate in all his enterprizes, and gloriously victorious in spite of all his enemies. Unfeignedly I do extreamly love that nation, honour his Excellency, your Lordship, my Lord *Castlehaven*, Lord *Muskerry*, Lord *Taafe*, the noble Sir *William Hawken*, dear Sir *Robert Talbot*, and I do still fight and suffer for my friends there: my humble service to my Lady Marquess, Sir *Richard Blake*, and Mr. *Sbirly*. Sir *John Winter* is committed to the Tower, Mr. *Montague* perpetually banished, as also Sir *Kenelm Digby*. This is done by the Presbyterian party that does now begin

gin to shew more courage and confidence in the carriage of affairs since *Cromwell's* departure. Sir *Kennelm* courted strangely the Independent party at his arrival here, and did negotiate with them when he was at *Paris*. My service also to honourable Mr. *Edmund Butler*; but in the first place to my Lady *Thurles*, and to noble Mr. *Richard Butler*; my Lady your sweet worthy sister is well; but both she and her Marquess are solicitous for you.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

SINCE my former dispatch, I have with as much diligence and industry as I have been able enquired after the packet of letters sent me by Mr. *Talbot*, and mentioned in your Excellency's letters of *July 16*, but cannot recover it: and though he would excuse himself in it, and peradventure he misdelivered the same without any ill intention, yet I may not but blame at least his carelessness in the delivery of them. But I understand it is a very ordinary practice with some here to intercept letters, whereby to discover men's affections and correspondencies, which is a villainy of so ill consequence as the King's service must needs suffer very much by it. I pray therefore be pleased henceforth to command that such letters as you shall honour me with may by the messenger be delivered to my own hand, or to Lord *Byron* for me, if I should be absent.

There hath been here very much care taken to hasten the passing of the grant of the Office of Lord Admiral of *England* to the Duke of *York*, which is now sealed. I confess I cannot penetrate the reason why so much expedition was used in it: but they tell me the passing of it now shall not prejudice or

A.D. 1649 weaken the authority or commissions given to Prince *Rupert* or you for maritime affairs. The young Earl of *Barrimore* is very lately married here to Mrs. *Killegrew* the maid of Honour, which match is said to be made by the solicitation and contrivance of Mr. *Boyle*, or rather of his wife and others of her kindred, against the King and Queen's will and endeavours.

I beseech your Excellency to send to the King frequent advertisements of the condition and state of his affairs under your charge and care; for thereon all his resolutions and councils are now to be grounded. It's believed that neither Lord *Fermyn* nor Lord *Colepepper* go with the King to *Jersey*; whither his Majesty intends (as it's now said) to begin his journey on Tuesday next. I have herein now sent your Excellency a duplicate of part of my former dispatch to you. It was lately advertised that the Earl of *Lothian* and other Scotch Commissioners (of better quality, though for ought I hear of no better conditions or affections than the former sent into *Holland*) were preparing to be sent to his Majesty from *Scotland* into *France* with new propositions; but to what effect I have not heard, though I believe they were to be much after the same terms as the former were. But the last prints tell us, that the Scots will now send only an *Envoy* with a letter to the King and no more; which I conceive to be never the worse. The King is in great expectation and longing to hear from you. God prosper all your noble and loyal designs and enterprizes. So prays, &c.

St. Germain's, Sept. 11,
1649. N. S.

430.

I beseech your Excellency to decypher this yourself.

SINCE mine of the 4th present, Sir *W. Balladine* (who was by the Earl of *Brainford* left in *Sweden*

Sweden in the nature of an Agent for our King) having presented letters from that Queen to his Majesty, whereby she desires the King to give credit to what Sir *W. Balladine* should say from her, he hath told her Majesty that the Queen of *Sweden* desires him to forbear to send any person extraordinary to her this year; because she is yet but *regina designata*, and not *coronata*. Whereupon the Lord *Hatton* (who is designed singly for that Embassy) his going is deferred for some time, and an express is preparing to be sent to that Queen to give her thanks for the great resentment she hath of the King's sad condition, and the princely expressions and offers she hath made for his assistance.

A.D. 1649

Our King's want of money is very great, and for ought I can discern, there is little or no hope for him to be supplied but from *Spain* or *Sweden*. The French, if they had any affections or intentions, are drawn so very low by war, and the people in *France* are so much impoverished by excessive taxes, as the Crown labours with great difficulties and artifices to support it self at present. I have been near these three months continued at a very expenceful attendance, and the King neither employs me nor will give me leave to retire to my Station at *Caen*, where I might live at a less charge; but now he tells me, I shall within a few days have his final answer: and some tell me that he intends when he goes hence, (for he holds himself constant to his first resolution not to declare any officer whilst he shall be here) to let me know his pleasure wherein he will use my service. The Lord *Colepepper* is preparing to go Ambassador to *Russia* from his Majesty, to see if he can procure the payment of a considerable sum of money lent long since to that Emperor by the King's Grandfather and his procurement. I hear the King takes very well your Excellency's care of him expressed in your last dispatch, whereby you

A.D. 1649 advise him not to make so much haste into *Ireland*: but he saith, it so much concerns his honour to put himself into action, as he is resolved to hasten to you as soon as he can possibly get into any place to land, that he may once be amongst his own people. The King gives little credit to the ill reports sent hither from *England* of the late pretended defeat given before *Dublin*: but suspends his belief in that business till he shall hear thereof from your Excellency. I beseech your Lordship, when his Majesty shall be with you there, not to spare to tell him home the truth of his sad condition, and to advise him in plain terms what is requisite for him to do in order to his great affairs, without relation to any persons whatsoever. For his business and condition is such, and of so vast and publick concernment, as will bear no compliment or compliances with any. Pardon this boldness, I beseech you, since it proceeds from a faithful heart, which is really yours.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

SINCE my former to your Lordship, the King hath commanded me to wait on him at *Fersey*, where (he says) he intends to make use of my service, so as your dispatches will assuredly find me henceforth constantly with his Majesty. I have not hitherto been employed in or made acquainted with any of his Majesty's business, which, forasmuch as I can learn by my best enquiry, have not been managed hitherto with such advantage as I wish, or as I suppose they might have been, in relation to what is under your Excellency's charge; but I shall not speak thereof any more till I shall be admitted to Council, and be more exactly informed what hath been transacted. However I beseech your Excellency

lency to favour me with some directions from your own pen, how I may with the King employ my endeavours with most advantage to his Majesty's affairs under your care; which in my judgment are of most concernment and best hopes of any thing now in view or under consideration. The King's wants here are incredible, having scarce wherewith to feed himself and those few whereto he hath reduced his family, and there is not here much care taken to supply his necessitous condition.

The Lord *Cottington* and Sir *E. Hyde* are now preparing to be instantly gone on their Embassy for *Spain*, as the Lord *Colepepper* is also for *Russia*, and the Lord *Fermyn* for *Holland*; this last for *Holland* on pretence of the business of the King's jewels; but some whisper it is chiefly with design to confer with some of the Presbyterian faction. The Lord *Percy* was lately by the King's command confined for three days to his chamber for insolent words spoken to his Majesty before the Lords of the Council, but on his submission, he is now at liberty, and as busy in the King's ear for the Presbyterian faction as ever. Prince *Edward* and the Duke of *Buckingham* had yesterday the Garter given them by the King. I beseech you be pleased to write freely to me your advices concerning his Majesty's business, and in what condition his Majesty's affairs are at present: for we hear nothing here but what the prints or disaffected letters bring from *England*. I shall add no more but my redoubling my humble request to hear frequently from your Excellency, and that you will keep in your noble esteem,

Sept. $\frac{11}{21}$, 1649.

My Lord, &c.

430.

Sir

A.D. 1649



Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

I Have now had the honour to receive your Excellency's of *Aug. 8*, together with the cypher you sent in it, whereof I shall now and hereafter make use, untill I shall know that you have received one that is larger, which your noble Lady sent you. Conceiving that you may since the loss of your cypher have received some letters from me written in that you formerly had with me, I thought good herewith to send the old cypher that you might make use of it only for reading such letters as you may have lately received from me; which being done, I pray burn it.

The King is now at *Fersey*, expecting some great advice from your Excellency touching his stay there or going for *Ireland*. I am resolved in obedience to his Majesty's command to follow him, being thus far on my way, and hope to be with him within 3 or 4 days. A squadron of the rebels ships (I hear) ply now about *Fersey* by order from the rebels: but the Michaelmas storms will, I believe, make that so unquiet a road for them as they will not be able long to continue there. The King's Embassadors for *Spain* set forth from *Paris* eight days since, and the Lord *Colepepper* is also gone Embassador towards *Russia*. I have not been able since I came to the King to procure from any a state of his Majesty's present affairs whereby I might have given your Excellency (as is most requisite) an account thereof: but when I shall enter upon his Majesty's business, as I am promised I shall as soon as I come to *Fersey*, my first work shall be to press for a state of his Majesty's affairs, as the same is at present, that I may be able to let your Excellency know it. If his Majesty's affairs
in

in *Ireland* shall not happen to be so prosperous that it ^{A.D 1649} may be counsellable for him to come thither, I beseech your Excellency to honour me with your advice what you conceive best for him to do in the next place: for I presume if he should not go for *Ireland* this winter, he will by the strong Presbyterian faction now about him be pressed to go for *Scotland*; and it may be, if they find him to continue (as God be thanked he is hitherto) not to confide much in Scotch Presbyterians, that they will persuade him, rather than not go into *Scotland* at all, to go to the M. of *Montrose*, who we believe will be within a few weeks in *Scotland* from *Denmark*, whence we hope his Lordship will have some considerable supplies. In such case I should be glad to understand what your Excellency conceives best for his Majesty to do. When I shall be with his Majesty, I shall meet with few about him versed in his affairs of this nature and importance, with whom I may freely converse, and therefore I beseech your Excellency to pardon my presuming thus particularly to crave your advice, which is the compass whereby I desire to steer my actions in his Majesty's affairs, knowing none that in my observation hath with so much honour and integrity, and with less private interest appeared so active for his Majesty's advantage and service. And if your Excellency shall please to honour me with the trust of your noble and prudent advice in what may concern his Majesty's service, either concerning his coming into *Ireland*, continuing in *Fersey*, or removing to some such other place as you shall judge most fit, I shall therein be so just and faithful as punctually to acquaint his Majesty with only so much and in such manner as your Excellency shall direct, being very ambitious to approve my self entirely, &c.

Caen, Oct. 8, 1649.

Mr.

Mr. Secretary Long to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

A.D. 1649

HIS Majesty having been some time in this Island, and having his thoughts much taken up with the consideration of his affairs in *Ireland*, resolved to send some fit person to your Excellency to be informed of the state of things there, and to give some account of his own resolutions. His Majesty conceived himself obliged to this resolution by the want of all other means of good intelligence from that Kingdom, not having heard from thence since your Excellency's dispatch of the 8th of *August* last, which came not to his Majesty's hands till since his arrival in this Island. His Majesty having fixt upon the bearer Mr. *Seymour* to be sent, as a person of confidence and known integrity, I have endeavoured to put into his instructions that which could not conveniently have been said by letters, and have there briefly represented to your Excellency the present state of the King's condition, that you might be truly informed, when you are to deliver your opinion in a matter of so great importance as his Majesty's present repair into that Kingdom. The truth is, the King's condition in this place is so uneasy, so inconvenient, and so out of the way of his affairs, that he hath just cause to desire to make as little stay here as he can: but his own generous desires to be active in his affairs, to own the affections and endeavours of his friends in *Ireland*, and to partake of those hazards in his own Person, which they have already so gallantly sustained for his sake and service, put him on with some ardour to hasten his journey thither; if your Excellency upon consideration of his Majesty's condition here, and of the state of things there, shall advise him thereunto,

Your

Your Excellency will herewith receive a letter from the King, whereby he authorizeth you to recommend persons to him for all preferments as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, which I would have penned with more exprefs and more immediate authority, if I had known how to contrive it otherwise: and if your Excellency will be pleased to give me any further direction in that particular, I shall with much readiness and willingness obey it, and send such further authority as shall be necessary. In the mean time I shall be careful to send speedy order from the King for all particulars that your Excellency shall be pleased to recommend, believing that I can never serve him better, than when I contribute all I may to uphold your Excellency's authority and interest in that Kingdom; which is the surest pledge and foundation of his Majesty's re-establishment there.

I send your Excellency two blanks under his Majesty's hand and seal, to be made use of in any treaty or transaction that your Excellency may have cause to make with *Owen O Neale*, or on any other occasion concerning *Ulster*: and I have sent by my cousin *Seymour*, by his Majesty's command, copies of all the letters and instructions, sent by Captain *Talbot*, in order to the business of *O Neale*.

Your Excellency will likewise receive by my cousin *Seymour* a copy of the Lord *Hopton*'s cypher, which was used in former dispatches; because you will have use of it to decypher many letters sent since the loss of that cypher, which was not known to us till the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 8th of *August*. And I send your Excellency a new cypher, beseeching you to make use of it in your dispatches to the King; because by his Majesty's command I have sent a copy of it to the Queen, where it may be made use of upon occasion to decypher any thing from your Excellency before it come

A.D. 1649 } come hither; there being that perfect understanding between the King and the Queen, that the letters coming first thither are by his Majesty's order to be opened and decyphered there, which I only tell in confidence to your Excellency.

If I had a cypher that I could safely make use of, I should communicate some other particulars to you; but must now remit them to a better opportunity. In the mean time I humbly beseech your Excellency to believe, I have in all things contributed my best endeavours to his Majesty's service in that kingdom; and that I shall continue to do so, with these expressions of respect and duty to you that I know belong to your virtue and merit in my Master's affairs, and that may (I hope by your goodness) give me some place in your favour and good opinion, which I shall study to preserve by my uttermost diligence and care in all that concerns you, as,

My Lord,

Jersey, Oct. 12,
1649.

Your Excellency's most humble

most obedient and most faithful servant,

ROBERT LONG.

Lord Byron to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellence,

IF his Majesty would have permitted me, I had performed this journey myself; but tho' I could not obtain that favour of him, yet he granted me the next to it; which was to recommend this bearer Mr. *Henry Seymour* to the employment; a person both extreamly devoted to your Excellency's service, and unbyassed by any of those factions that have hitherto

hitherto been so pernicious to the King's affairs. By *A.D. 1649* him you will receive such testimonies of his Majesty's favour as will sufficiently manifest to the world, that his value and esteem of you is built upon a foundation not to be undermined by any ill success; and of all other particulars so full an account, that I shall not need to give your Excellency much trouble, but wholly refer them to his better relation. His charge is not only to carry you the true state of the King's affairs here, but to bring back your advice, and particularly concerning his Majesty's passage into *Ireland*: which though in this conjuncture it may appear not counsellable as bringing too much hazard with it to the King's Person; yet his honour is so much endangered by a longer absence from thence, and his Person by too long a continuance here, that he ought rather to expose the same to any danger with hopes of preserving the other, than by reprieving that for a time, be sure at last to lose both.

'Tis true, he will not be able for the present to bring along with him any supplies either of men, money or arms; which was one of the greatest arguments used to oppose his going from the *Hague* into *Ireland* when I pressed it so much; and that therefore it was fit he should stay, till by being better provided his presence would be more acceptable. But I find that his stay hath been so far from enabling him any way, that it hath rather extreamly increased his necessities, and that foreign Princes (though I am confident whensoever he comes into action he will sufficiently confute all such opinions) begin to look upon him as a Person so lazy and careless in his own business, that they think it not safe, by contributing any thing to his assistance, to irritate so potent enemies as they fear his rebellious subjects are like to prove. So that though *Drogheda* (which God forbid) should fall into the rebels hands, yet

A.D. 1649 yet I humbly conceive that ought not at all to retard his journey into *Ireland*, but rather to hasten it, that he may come at least whilst he hath something left to fight for, and not be taken here in a nook of the world with his hands in his pockets, as he is sure to be, if he continue here till the season of the year permit the rebels to attempt it. Besides all this, there want not persons so malicious here as to whisper (for speak it aloud they dare not) that your Excellency dissuades the King's coming into *Ireland* upon pretence of his safety; but that the real cause is, that you are loth your power should be eclipsed by his presence, than which though nothing can be invented more false and scandalous, yet I know not what belief it may gain in time amongst credulous persons, and such as are not thoroughly acquainted with your candor and integrity, but are apt to judge of others by what they have seen so much practised in this Court, which is, to be far more governed by private than publick interest. In fine, when in the sad condition the King is now in, there appears so much hazard in all resolutions that can be taken, certainly those are to be preferred that are most honourable. This have I, ever since my coming out of *Ireland*, urged with all possible importunity; but being not seconded by any letters from your Excellence, it passed but for my private opinion, and therefore could not prevail against so potent a faction as opposed. For since I left *Ireland*, I have received but one letter from your Excellence dated from *Corke* long since. Father *Talbot* told me, he had some letters for me, which being inclosed in a packet directed to Secretary *Nicholas*, and delivered (as the Father affirms) to my Lord *Fermyn* and Secretary *Long*, miscarried strangely. I hope before this, your Excellency hath had an account of it by Col. *Warren*.

I have upon the trust I knew your Excellence re-
posed

posed in Secretary *Nicholas* and the good opinion you had of his integrity, presumed to recommend him in your name to the King: which at length, (tho' much opposed by his enemies) hath prevail'd so far as to bring him into the number of his Counsellors, and will (I hope) e're long to the execution of his place; especially if your Excellence be pleas'd to recommend him there-to in your letters; whereby, besides the obliging of one so avowedly your servant as Secretary *Nicholas* is, you will do the King an especial service by inter-esting a person in his affairs so generally approved of by all his party.

The King in his passage through *Caen* visited my Lady Marchioness, and expressed all possible respect to her. The resolution of sending this bearer was so sudden, that I doubt her Ladyship's letters (though I have advertis'd her of it) cannot come before his departure: nor shall I add any more than what I hope your Excellency is sufficiently assured of, that I am and ever will be,

Jersey, Oct. 12,
1649.

My Lord, &c.

JOHN BYRON.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

THIS noble Gentleman Mr. *Henry Seymour* is so fully instructed in all his Majesty's affairs in these parts, and so rightly in his affections to the King's service and to your own person and family, as you may rely firmly on what he shall deliver you of the state of the King's present condition; and of the inclinations and affections of all about him. When you have heard him, you will (I presume) judge it requisite that his Majesty were with you, where he might at least have wholesome counsel given him;

A.D. 1649 and not be so much distracted with the several factions now about him, which prefer their own private interests and designs to all that concerns his Majesty or the publick.

The States of *Holland* have declared *Strickland* Agent from the Republick of *England*, but the States General have hitherto refused to admit him so, and have sent to all the other Provinces to send deputies to them to consider of so important a business. If they shall all join therein with those of *Holland*, (as I believe they will) the next news we shall have will be, that they have made a league with the English rebels against the King; which (I doubt) nothing but some good success in *Ireland* will prevent.

There are Scots Commissioners coming hither; but their propositions are as unreasonable as the former sent into *Holland*. They have now a strong faction about the King: and the Lord *Fermyn* (who is esteemed the head of the Scots Presbyterian faction) hath, it's said, gained many that are now about his Majesty to his party, and some say, will come hither to assist with all his interest and power the advancement of the King's designs. The truth is, Sir *Edw. Hyde* being so unnecessarily and unskilfully employed in *Spain*, hath given an infinite advantage to the Scots Presbyterians; for he was expert in all their jigs and artifices, and only understood perfectly their canting. I am now here on the place, and shall constantly continue about the King; so as I beseech your Excellency to let me understand clearly and fully what you conceive best to be here insisted on or done for advancing his Majesty's service, and when you would advise him to move from hence for *Ireland*. For my part, I fear he is betrayed in all he doth; for it's impossible but the rebels should more apprehend their condition, (being so abominable villains as they know themselves

to

to be:) but having sure and potent friends and spies near the King, they value nothing that his Majesty can do. I am but newly come, and being (as it were) but single, it will be impossible to prevent or hinder the design of the formed and combined factions; which I understand and already discern to be not only near his Person, but most employed and active in his business of greatest consequence. But I beseech your Excellency keep this to yourself, and receive from this most faithful and perfectly noble Gentleman the particulars of *Ireland*, which I only express in generals: and be pleased by word or otherwise afford me by him your particular advice and directions in whatsoever you conceive may most import his Majesty's service. By intelligence from good hands, and my own particular observation since I first went to *St. Germain's*, the Lord *Fermyn* is not only entirely of the Scots Presbyterian faction, but I may tell your Excellency, he is no friend to the M. of *Ormonde* or M. of *Montrose*: whereof I beseech you to make your own observation and use, and be pleased to be the more cautious in your correspondence with him. I shall now give your Excellency no further trouble, but rest, &c.

Jersey, Oct. 1st, 1649.

CHA. LEDISON.

I have herewith sent you a copy of the letter which the Scots have prepared to send the King; but it's not yet come.

The Scots Letter inclosed.


May it please your Majesty,

IF the Estates of Parliament of this your Majesty's most ancient kingdom, had considered the power
X 2 and

A.D. 1649 and prevalency of your Majesty's enemies, your Majesty's present condition, and the difficulties and dangers that may attend an agreement with your Majesty in such a posture of affairs; they might have been silent upon the receipt of so unsatisfactory an answer to their humble and earnest desires, and waited for the express promised by your Majesty in your last answer to their Commissioners. But being very desirous to witness their tender regard to your Majesty, and because they would not be wanting in any thing which might evidence the sincerity and constancy of their affection, and beget a right understanding betwixt your Majesty and your loyal and faithful subjects of this kingdom, they have resolved upon this new Address; there being no earthly thing more in their desires, than that your Majesty may rule over them, and that your Throne may be established in Religion and Righteousness.

We doubt not but your Majesty hath seriously considered your present estate, and weighed the great dangers that do and may farther arise from delay in resolution; yet we crave leave humbly to represent, that it is matter of much trouble and sadness for us, to think that your Majesty should live amongst strangers, and (relying upon the uncertain aid of foreigners) stand at such distance with your well affected subjects, who against all difficulties and impediments are most willing to interest themselves in your Majesty's affairs, according to the Covenant; and we cannot but acquaint your Majesty that it is unto us matter of admiration, that your Majesty should all this time forbear to declare your intentions and resolutions, whilst your adversaries (the murderers of your Royal Father and our native King) are very active and industrious, both at home and abroad, and leave no means unessay'd which may either gain re-

putation

putation to themselves, or lessen your Majesty's ^{A.D. 1649} estimation with your people. 

As we are much grieved to consider the many great inconveniencies which accompany your Majesty's irresolution; so are we much more afflicted to think of the sad effects that may ensue, in case your Majesty should be induced to believe, that it can be safe for your Majesty to trust your Person or affairs to the Papists in *Ireland*; who for their enmity to the reformed Religion, and cruel murder of many thousand Protestants in that Kingdom, are long since become detestable to all your Majesty's subjects, who either fear God, honour your Majesty, or wish well to the peace of these Kingdoms.

We do therefore most humbly beg, and earnestly beseech that your Majesty would in your Princely wisdom seasonably lay to heart your own estate, the long continued distraction of your Kingdoms, and the equity of our humble desires presented unto your Majesty by our Commissioners; which if your Majesty shall graciously be pleased to grant (and above all, if your Majesty shall cordially enter into the Solemn League and Covenant;) is the only way to procure the Lord's blessing on all your undertakings, and the hearty concurrence of your well-affected subjects in all your Kingdoms, for restoring your Majesty to your just power and authority: and for our parts we dare confidently say in his sight, who is the searcher of hearts, that your Majesty may thereupon assuredly expect from this Kingdom all the testimonies of affection and fidelity, according to our Covenant, that dutiful and loyal subjects are capable of, for restoring your Majesty to the possession of the government of your Kingdoms.

If in order to these ends, your Majesty shall be pleased to acknowledge the present Parliament of this Kingdom, particularly the two last sessions thereof, in this year 1649, and the Committee ha-

A. D. 1649 ving authority from them, in the interval of Parliament, we are resolved to make a solemn address unto your Majesty for a full agreement in the grounds contained in the former desires of

Your Majesty's most humble,

most loyal and most obedient Subjects,

LOUDON CANCELLARIUS.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

THIS noble Gentleman being stay'd here by cross winds longer than it was expected, hath given me the opportunity to make this addition to my former letter. We had very lately the certain sad news of the taking of *Drogheda*, and the cruelty used by those inhuman rebels that took it: which hath made a great impression of grief in his Majesty and all good men with him. But it's observed that the Presbyterian faction here are not uncheerful upon this important loss, conceiving (as is supposed) it may make the King cast himself the sooner upon the Presbyterian party. The truth is, all good men here are at a stand, considering his Majesty's extreme necessities, and how he is cast off by all his friends and allies: and none knows what to advise or counsel him. The rebels of *England* make account, that they may have him and the Duke of *York* without much difficulty: and some advertise that they intend shortly to attempt it. Some here are of opinion that the King should go with 6 or 8 servants into *Holland*, and there remain as a private person, till he shall be able by my Lord *Montrose's* means and other friends to get some forces to

go for *Ireland*, and to put himself into action. I should be glad in this exigence to receive your advice and counsel in a business of so great concernment. We here very much apprehend the danger the King's ships are in at *Kinsale*; all things in *Ireland* being rendered here to be in a very desperate condition.

I have herein sent your Excellency all that I know or can learn of the King's hopes of assistance for any occasion. I shall now only add what in some former letters I have intimated, that you will be pleased to be wary how far you rely on, and what you communicate to Lord *Fermyn*; for if I am truly informed by my Lord *Hatton* and others who honour your Excellency, Lord *Fermyn* hath no kindness at all for you, and Mr. *Long* is his Lordship's creature and intelligencer. My freedom in this I hope your Excellency will make use of for your advantage, and receive as an assurance that I am entirely and really,

My Lord, &c.

Fersey, Oct. $\frac{1}{26}$,
1649.

CHA. LEDISON.

Extracts of Sir Richard Browne's Letters to Secretary Nicholas inclosed.

Paris, Oct. 9, 1649. N. S.

Right Honourable,

THE conditions of the accommodation between the Prince of *Conde* and Cardinal *Mazarine* are generally reported to be these; that the Cardinal shall meddle no more with the Finances, nor with the bestowing of Offices or collation of Benefices, but content himself with a single voice in Council, without the title of Premier Ministre or

A.D. 1649 *Directeur des Affaires* ; that all packets shall henceforward be opened in the presence of the Princes, and the dispatches made in their names ; that the Cardinal shall not bestow his Nieces in this kingdom ; and that the Queen, the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Conde* shall each of them name one Commissioner to treat the general peace. Some few (that would have it so) do think the Cardinal will not continue in this level, but will with his Italian suppleness, like oil, soon float over all this vinegar. But most believe the design of the Princes is in time rather to eject him whom they have thus pulled down ; as commonly in precipices there is no station to be found between the top and the bottom. Ambassador *Contarini* (who hath been so long the Venetian Plenipotentiary and Moderator at *Munster*) is come hither, to try what may be done to renew the Treaty ; and *Pignoranda* demands a pass to go this way into *Spain* : which if really intended, yet 'tis thought he may make a stop here to see what may be done in the treaty of the general peace. Here are news come, that the Spanish fleet hath landed men in *Catalonia*, and that *Barcelona* is besieged both by sea and land ; so that the condition of that Province is much doubted, since the drawing a considerable part of the French forces from thence to serve against the town of *Bordeaux*, where the disorder continues still as great as ever.

Upon the general murmur of the Nobility against the new created Dukes and Peers, (whose wives upon the single billet before their husbands instalment pretended to have the tabouret) and upon a remonstrance of the Clergy against the multiplying of these lay Dignities to their prejudice, who had originally Ecclesiastical Dukes and Peers, as there were temporal, the Queen Regent hath promised that all the late conferred honours, (as well before as since

since the barricadoes) shall signify nothing, till the King's majority, in whose power it will then be to confirm and retrench what shall then be thought expedient. A.D. 1649

The King hath this week sate in Council, it being the first time he ever was present there.

The peace between the King of *Poland* and the *Cossacks* is here published in print.

Letters from *Nuremberg* of *September* 24 bear, the Imperialists signing of the preliminary Treaty of execution of that of *Munster*, and it is agreed that the Prince Elector Palatine should enter into *Heidelberg* upon the last of *September*; and the point of *Frankendel* was likewise then to be decided within five days, whether that town, or what cautionary places in lieu thereof, should be put into his hands. I have also advice, that Sir *Swan* hath lately had a very gracious audience with the Emperor, who hath promised all possible assistance to his Majesty at the next Imperial Dyet, and that in the Princes of *Germany* and in the *Swedes*, there are no less kind inclinations; the effects whereof will appear, as soon as possibly the affairs of the Empire can be settled.

I here inclosed send your Honour a copy of this King's late declaration, in opposition whereunto I have in a Memoir in writing represented to this state, that the general practice of Neutral Princes (as for example at *Genoa*, *Leghorn* and *Malta*) is, and hath always been, to permit the sale of prizes brought into their ports, with many other things tending to the advantage of his Majesty's affairs, to which I have yet no answer made me.

*Extract of a Letter from Madrid, Sept. 29,
1649.*

A.D. 1649

HERE is an Ambassador arrived from the Great Turk, whose Embassy is kept so secret as no man knoweth any thing: yet the Venetian Ambassador and the Pope's Nuncio are mighty inquisitive, and they have used great means that this King should not give him audience, but in vain; for he hath twice spoke to the King, and is much made of and entertained at the King's cost. He is himself, his Secretary and four other servants, no more. This King departeth to-morrow or the next day to the *Escorial*, and from thence the sixth of the month of *October* to *Naval Carnero*, where his Majesty meeteth his Queen: and there the Archbishop of *Toledo* marrieth them, and after two days abode there they return to the *Escorial*, and from thence they come to the *Buenretiro*, where their Majesties will be until the *Archos Triumpales* be ended that are a making for their entrance into *Madrid*; which may be towards the end of this next month. Don *Juan de Garay* with his army marched towards *Barcelona*, and thither also goeth the *Galeras* and *Galeones*: we hope to carry it at this time, &c.

Not having any thing more at present, I rest

Your Honour's

most faithful humble Servant,

*Paris, Oct. 19,
1649.*

RICHARD BROWNE.

Lord

Lord Jermyn to the M. of Ormonde.

My Lord,

I AM under a firm resolution of letting no opportunity pass, by which I can hope my letters can come to your hands, without writing. Be it that I have business, or none, it will still be matter of advice (if we have nothing of moment to impart to you) to let you know so much. The present state that we are in, is the expectation of such certainties of that of *Ireland*, as may enable the King to take his last resolutions, whether he shall now presently, according to the opinions you have given, transport his Person into that kingdom, or stay a while longer to see, whether it will fall out to be more useful there, than elsewhere, to the good of his affairs. The reason of this I conceive to be, the same with the King, that happens to us in this place, so divers thoughts of the present condition of things. From *London* they write to us the total conquest of *Munster*; and we have from *Ireland* the defeat of *Cromwell* by your forces. In fine the Queen hath sent her opinion to the King, that whatsoever he hath warrant for from the declaration of your judgment she doth wholly concur to, and adds the interposition of her own advice, that she thinks he cannot do amiss to follow yours; but since these letters of the Queen's to the King and the receipt of yours, the change in the affairs is happened so, that we do not know what he will determine of. But this is most certain, that he hath strong inclinations to come to you, and there is nobody now capable of hindering him that is not in the same. We hear great things of my Lord *Montrose*, but I cannot yet tell you how much thereof is to be relied on. 'Tis said he hath already passed

A.D. 1649 I 500 men into *Scotland*, and hath 5000 more ready to embark, and ships to receive them. We have out of *England* nothing more of moment, than this inclosed note contains.

The Ambassadors in *Spain* have yet had no audience. Those for *Russia* and *Poland* are not in the Courts of those Princes. The Pope promiseth assistance for the affairs of *Ireland*, if the Catholicks be once united among themselves. I have advertised several times the conjunction of *O Neile* with your Lordship; but it may be they do not esteem my warrant authentick enough. When they shall be informed of it by their own ways, they will either give something, or some new reason why they do not; which I rather look for of the two. This Court is upon the point of recovering their languished and almost perished authority, and of re-settling their affairs. If they be so happy, perhaps it may be a leading to the general peace. I am as confident as I am capable of being of any human thing, that if we be so fortunate as to see that, one effect of it will be an espousing of the re-establishment of our Master, perhaps by both the Crowns; but most undoubtedly by this. The Queen hath written to you, and is (I believe) as much your friend as she is any bodies in the world, and with as much value and inclination. I have the honour to see your sons sometimes, who I will serve with the affection, truth and zeal, with which I am unalterably,

My Lord, yours, &c.

Paris, December 26, 1649.

Note inclosed.

WE have had of late a kind of Treaty with the Presbyterians of *England* and the Levellers; the

the chief of both parties professing great desires to ^{A.D. 1649} restore the King. They delay now the prosecution, to see the issue of *Windram's* propositions from the Parliament of *Scotland*, which I fear will produce nothing. Both those parties seem to desire very much the conjunction with *Scotland*, as the only means to secure their risings: when they know what will be the effect of that address from *Scotland*, they promise to send Commissioners to the King with their propositions.

Lord Byron to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

I Received by Mr. *Seymour* the letter your Excellence was pleased to honour me with: and have, in order to what I found by him was your opinion concerning his Majesty's conjunction with the Scots, contributed my best endeavours to the effecting of it, as being the only probable means to divert those streams of men and money, which daily flow out of *England* into *Ireland*, and which will doubtless in a short time, if not prevented, overwhelm it. The time appointed for the transaction of that great business betwixt the King and the Scots is *March 15*. His Majesty begins his journey within a few days, and hath commanded me to attend him thither. The Duke of *York* continues here, till we see the issue of the Treaty: and I am from *Breda*, (where the Scotch Commissioners meet the King) to return with his Majesty's orders to his brother. This bearer *F. Daly*, otherwise called *Domingo del Rosario*, hath been recommended to his Majesty from the King of *Portugal*, as a person both able and willing to do him service in *Ireland*: and to that end undertakes this journey in company with Capt. *Roche*, who arrived here shortly after Mr. *Seymour's* departure.

A.D. 1649 ture. He professes great affection and service to your Excellence, and that he will be wholly guided by your directions in the management of the business intrusted to him, and hath desired me to signify so much to your Excellence. You will by Mr. Secretary *Long* (who with great zeal promotes all things that any ways tend to your service) receive a fuller account of all particulars. I shall give your Excellence no farther trouble than humbly to beg this belief from you, that I am unalterably, &c.

Jersey, Feb. 4. 1649.

JOHN BYRON.

Here have been great practices of late by them of P. *Rupert's* party to the King, to recall your commission and to confer it upon P. *Rupert* or the M. of *Antrim*; but all in vain; his Majesty being resolved (as he himself was pleased to tell me) rather to lose *Ireland* than preserve it by doing you an affront. Capt. *Roche* and one *Rochfort* a lawyer, who lately came hither in Capt. *Antonio's* frigate, are both of that faction, and for that reason much disliked by the King. One of these is a stranger to me: the other I little expected it from, and have thought fit to acquaint your Excellence therewith, that you may the better take heed how you trust him. An Express is gone to P. *Rupert*, who hath taken many rich prizes and brought them into *Lisbon*, to hasten money and arms to you. Letters are at this instant come out of *Spain*, which relate the honourable reception of the King's Ambassadors there, with the rejection of the English rebels Agent, and the recalling of the Spanish Ambassador resident in *London*.

Sir Richard Browne Resident at Paris to Sir
E. Nicholas.

Right Honourable,

UPON Tuesday last the King began his journey ^{A.D. 1649} towards *Normandy*, to take either the voluntary or constrained submission of that Province: but the former is more probable, in regard that, besides their being assured of *Rouen* and *Havre*, he that commands in *Pont de l'Arche* stands but upon the reimbursement of a sum of money. At *Caen* the Governor will not resist the King, and the last advice from *Diepe* is, that the Dutchess of *Longueville* prepares for her retreat either into *England* or *Holland*. The Queen Regent and Duke of *Anjou* went with the King: and the Cardinal having in their absence made many visits in *Paris* unattended by any guards, and lodged his Nieces in the Palace d'*Orleans*, followed the Court two days after. The Duke of *Orleans*, the Chancellor, and part of the Council remain here. Monsieur *Goulas* is called back and re-established by the Duke: which portends no good to the *Abbé de la Riviere*, whose professed enemy he was: but that which will mortify him is, that he is left out of the number of those who are now nominated by this King for the Cardinal's hat: which 'tis thought will fall upon *Sieur Mancini* Cardinal *Mazarine's* kinsman, though *Monsieur de Metz* be one of the competitors. The King pretends to be absent but 15 days: fifty thousand pistoles towards the charge of his journey are said to have been furnished by the Chancellor, who (it seems) thought it expedient to rivet himself in his place with this golden nail. The Dutchess and Madamoiselle de *Bouillon* are here under guard: but the eldest son is escaped

A.D. 1649 escaped out of the house by a back way, and they say *Marsino*, who should have been arrested in *Catalonia*, (by timely notice of the Prince of *Conde's* imprisonment whose creature he is) is slip'd away to his Government at *Belleguarde*: besides which *Erlac's* death in *Brissac* and the doubtfulness of what party *Charlevoy* his Lieutenant will declare himself, together with *Mareschal de Turenne's* forces (lately increased with the accession of *Col. Bens's* German Regiment) give them some thoughts here: to prevent which danger *Rose* hath order to march out of *Lorraine* with his forces, and the Government of *Burgundy* is conferred upon the Duke *de Vendosme*; and the Comte *de Grancey* sent for from *Graveling* to be the King's Lieutenant in that Province.

Upon Candlemas day in the afternoon Monsieur *du Rose* (not unknown to your honour) had an unparrallel'd disaster in his family by the murder of his son and daughter, his only issue by an English woman. The son a wild young man (for what reasons not certainly known, but guessed to be out of some lustful desires with which she would not comply, though otherwise tenderly affectionate to him) first killed his sister in her own house great with child, and then himself with a bayonet.

Your Honour will be pleased to present the inclosed packets out of *Spain* unto his Majesty, for the preservation of whose sacred Person and speedy establishment I pray to God Almighty. And rest

Your Honour's, &c.

Paris, Feb. 5.
1649.

RICHARD BROWNE.

I hope to have the honour to deliver to you myself those things I have here by your command provided for you.

The Count of *Harcourt* hath the Government of
Nor

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

337

Normandy, Marechal de l'Hospital hath Cham-
pagnia, and the Count de St. Agnan Berry.

A.D. 1649
}

Lord Byron to Major General Daniel O
Neile.

Dear S I R,

I Was glad to receive your last letter, both in regard of the assurance it gave me of your health, which I much doubted of, (having heard but once from you since my coming out of *Ireland*) and of the confirmation it brought me in an opinion which, till your letter came to my hands, I had not so wedded, but that I could easily have been diverted from it ; which was concerning the King's conjunction with the Scots. I had with all possible earnestness and the uttermost of my endeavours solicited the King's going into *Ireland*, which he seemed to be (and I verily believe really was) no less willing to, than myself or any other that most desired it. But by the underhand practices of some (who shall be nameless till we meet) his journey was so long retarded, till we had the news of that fatal blow near *Dublin*. Whereupon his Majesty resolved immediately to go to *Jersey*, and from thence to embark for *Ireland* : but meeting there with the sad assurance of the loss of *Drogheda*, then of *Wexford*, and afterwards of the defection of the principal maritime towns in *Munster*, and the wavering condition of *Inchiquin's* army, it was not thought counsellable for the King to hazard his Person thither, till they were truly informed of the State of the Kingdom : to which purpose it was resolved to send an express, and Mr. *Seymour* was pitched upon, as a person unbiassed with any faction, and in whose discretion and integrity the King had great confidence.

Z

Not

A.D. 1649

Not long before his return one *Windram* was sent from *Scotland* with commission, to offer the King a solemn address from that Kingdom of persons authorised to treat and conclude with him of some course for his restoration in *England*, and punishment of his Father's murderers; in case he would acknowledge this present Convention to be a Parliament: which at the *Hague* he had refused to do. Hereupon the King, finding the Council he had here (which consisted but of three persons, my Lord *Hopton* and the two Secretaries, *Nicholas* and *Long*) to be too few to consult upon so weighty a business, thought fit to call all the Peers here present to the consultation; which were the Earl of *Cleveland*, Lord *Wentworth*, Lord *Wilmot*, Lord *Percy*, Lord *Gerrard*, and myself. It was generally thought fit, that the King should treat with the Scots: the only question was, whether he should treat with them as a Parliament, without which appellation they would not be treated withal. Many reasons were alledged *pro & contra*; on the one side what dishonour and prejudice would follow upon the King's allowing that to be a Parliament, which was not called by his authority, and presumed to sit after his Father's death, and did still proceed so vigorously against his party; on the other side, it was urged, that the calling this a Parliament on the back side of a letter did not really and legally make it one, and that real advantages were not to be lost for airy words and titles; that both the King of *Spain* and other Princes had made no difficulty to give their rebellious subjects any titles they would demand, when they were grown too powerful to be punished by them, and when they had no other means left to reap advantages from them. For my own part, I was all the time a neuter, and resolved not to give my conclusive opinion till I knew the true state of *Ireland*,

Ireland, and what advice the King should receive A.D. 1649
 from thence. Immediately upon this, after a most dangerous passage, Mr. *Seymour* arrived; by whose discourse, as well as by the letters I received both from yourself and others, I was fixed in the opinion which before I wavered in; which was, that the King in the dangerous condition he was in, should not stick at words to obtain a treaty with the Scots, and provided he could retrieve to himself the superintendency of his affairs in *England* and *Ireland*, to condescend to any thing that concerned *Scotland*. The Scotch Commissioner was likewise content to accept of the title of *Committee of Estates* instead of that of *Parliament*; which though the same thing in effect, yet avoids the odiousness of the word *Parliament*.

Thus the matter being carried by the plurality of votes, both time and place were appointed for the treaty, which is to be at *Breda* the 15th of *March*, and the King within a very few days begins his journey thither. He hath commanded me to wait upon him, and the Duke of *York* continues here till my return. I must not omit, that during this debate, the King expressed such moderation, patience, and judgment, as was admirable in a person of his years, and such truly as I little expected from him, repressing by his excellent temper those heats and animosities amongst us, which otherwise would utterly have destroyed the business; and certainly it is one of the greatest curses God hath laid upon his subjects, that they are so long deprived of the knowledge and fruits of his virtue and goodness; which I never knew more eminent in any young man.

Your countrymen will by this dispatch receive full assurances from the King, that what agreement soever he makes with the Scots, it shall not in the least degree prejudice the peace concluded with

A.D. 1649 them by my Lord Lieutenant, nor infringe in any fort the concessions then made. And certainly the best and only way to relieve *Ireland* is to make a diversive war in *England*; which cannot possibly be done but from *Scotland*. God grant your countrymen be as careful of themselves, as the King is of them; for we hear they are relapsing into their former madness again, by calling assemblies without the King's authority, and kicking at his Lieutenant. Some of them have been already tampering about that business, and (which is more to be admired) have found patrons amongst us of their folly and villanies: but so much disliked by the King, that if they have either sense or brains in them, they will proceed no further in so desperate and ruinous a design. I have by this time wearied both myself and you, and have given you this large relation of occurrences here, that you may acquaint my Lord Lieutenant with it, in case he has not received it from others. Lord *Wentworth* has given you full satisfaction in what you desired, and wherein I may serve you, I shall never fail to my power to express myself, &c.

Ferrey, February 7,
1649. O. S.

JOHN BYRON.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

SINCE Mr. *Seymour's* arrival we have not received any Letters or Advertisements from *Ireland*, but only what one Mr. *Rockford* and Captain *Antonio*, a Merchant of *Flanders*, (who arrived here about a month since from *Waterford*) have told us; which is, that *Cromwell* having quitted *Waterford*, hath taken up his winter-quarters in *Corke*,
Youghall,

Youghball, and those Parts. This *Rockford* said, he ^{A.D. 1649} had letters of credence from one *O Faroll*, and some of the chief of the Irish, who were of *O Neile's* party; but presented none. The effect of his business was, (as I hear by others, for he would not vouchsafe to speak to me) to make larger demands of the King in point of Religion, and for those of the old Irish, than *Owen O Neile* had agreed upon with your Excellency; alledging, that unless they might have larger condescensions, that party of the Irish would not be satisfied. But this gallant agent *Rockford* went hence from *Flanders* on a sudden without delivering his Letters of credence, saying, he intends to wait on the King as he passes through *Flanders*. Mr. *Philip Roche* can very particularly acquaint your Lordship with *Rockford's* and *Antonio's* business, having had great discourse and conversation with them, whilst they were here. By what hath (I hear) fallen from *Rockford*, I perceive that the Irish of *O Neile's* party, taking advantage of the treacherous revolt- ing of the Presbyterian English which garrisoned most of the towns in *Munster*, clamour very much against the English, and will insist to have a Governor of their own nation and faith. But I assure your Excellency, his Majesty is so very sensible of the many eminent and extraordinary services you have done him, and so fixed in his confidence of your abilities and singular virtues, as any such motion would receive no pleasing answer from him. I have had no conference at all with this *Rockford*, but by his sly carriage, I did at first doubt he was a factious fellow; and his so abrupt and sudden leaving this place confirms that my opinion of him.

There hath been here lately one Father *Daly* an Irish Priest, who hath lived long in *Portugal*, and is the Queen of *Portugal's* Confessor, that professes a great desire to moderate the Irish who are of *O Neile's*

A.D. 1649 party in such their demands, and to use his best endeavours to bring and fix them to his Majesty's interest. He seems to be a prudential and well-affected Person to the King, and his Majesty hath given order for a dispatch to be sent by him to your Excellency, that you may make use of him as you shall there think most advantageous for his Majesty's service, and I suppose he will be with you as soon as this.

I have herein sent your Excellency such news as I received from *Paris*, whereof this gallant person can tell you more particulars : what will ensue on the imprisonment of those Princes is in great expectation. The King hath (I presume) by his letter acquainted you with the effect of the late debate, rather than treaty here ; and for your more full information therein, I have herein sent your Lordship copies of his Majesty's letters to the M. of *Montrose* and to the Scots now in power in *Scotland* : whereby you will perceive his Majesty hath given them a title of Committee of Estates ; which appellation (I very much apprehend) may be very prejudicial to his affairs, and a president of mischievous consequence : for (in my opinion) it doth in effect own a Parliamentary power may continue after the death of the King, which was never heard of before. And albeit I was negative, and so were all the old Councillors, and some Lords also, yet we were over voted by the King's addition of all the Lords here, who were not sworn Councillors.

I have herein sent your Excellency a copy of a letter written from the King by my hand, to one Col. *Wall*, an Irish commander, who is *Maître de Camp* in the French army, and hath tendered his service to his Majesty, having offered to carry into *Ireland* a proportion of arms, munition and officers to serve his Majesty under your command, professing

professing himself to be a very affectionate servant of your Lordship's. A.D. 1649

I have herewith sent you the last news I received from the M. of *Montrose's* Agent concerning that gallant Lord's proceedings. We are advertised since by letters from *Holland*, that he is before this arrived in *Scotland* in a good condition. The King's letter in behalf of the young Earl of *Roscommon* you will (I presume) take effectual order in, agreeable to the just and great esteem you had of the Father.

We have lately had letters from his Majesty's Embassadors in *Spain*, where they have been very well received, as well by that King as by his chief Ministers and the People there, who abhor the horrid murder of our late Master : and we hope his Majesty will have much assistance and advantage from the King of *Spain*. The King assures me, that of the first money he shall receive from *Spain*, a very considerable proportion shall be sent for *Ireland* ; for which he tells me orders are sent already to his Embassadors there.

Mr. *Rockford* when he first arrived here told us, that at *Scilly* he met with one Captain *Darcy*, who had a dispatch from your Excellency to the King, and that he would presently follow him ; but albeit the wind hath oftentimes since been very fair, we have not yet seen or heard of or from Captain *Darcy* : which makes me believe that the report of his being at *Scilly* was but a fiction of *Rockford's*. I humbly moved, that *Rockford* might have been here put under some restraint at his first coming ; in regard that he pretended to have letters of credence from single persons in *Ireland*, and nothing to shew from your Excellency : and I much doubt he came over thence with a design from *Cromwell*, to raise jealousies and sow discord amongst those severally affected persons in the army in *Ireland*. I

A.D. 1649 beseech your Excellency, to send very frequent advertisement to his Majesty of your proceedings and condition there, and forbear not to press him as oft as you can for all such supplies as are necessary to be sent you.

His Majesty is now preparing to go towards *Breda* to the treaty, and begins his journey hence this week. The Duke of *York* remains here, until after the treaty, his Majesty shall resolve *Ireland's* course may be best for his Highness to take. Your Excellency (I conceive) shall do well to advertise his Majesty, whether there be any strong towns or places in *Ireland* that may be fit and conveniently engaged as caution to such as will lend his Majesty money for the recovery of *Ireland*. This gallant person, Sir *James Preston*, can fully acquaint you with all occurrences in these parts, and brings you so full a dispatch from his Majesty concerning *Rockford*, as I shall add no more to it, but my humble advice that you would (if it may be without inconvenience) cause enquiry to be made, who gave *Rockford* any letter of credence, and by what authority; and if it appear, (as I believe it will) that he came over with a malicious design, or upon some conspiracy, you shall do yourself and the King's affairs there much right, to procure him to be disavowed and discovered to be (what I suppose, he is) an impostor, that he may be used as he deserves, when it shall be seasonable. I shall add no more, but that I am, &c.

Jersey, February 21,
1649.

CHARLES LEDISON.

You will receive in his Majesty's dispatch a copy of strange demands delivered here in writing by *Rockford's* means.

Papers,

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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A.D. 1649

Papers inclosed.

Proceedings of the Marquess of Montrose.

Jan. 20, 1649. O. S.

MONTROSE parted from *Holland* about the end of *August* 1649. and went to the Duke of *Friesland*, who promised him free quarter for his soldiers, and what further assistance he could be able to contribute. From thence to *Hamburg*, where he took course for sending his faithful friends to agent his Majesty's affairs with all the Princes of *Germany*. From thence he went to *Holstein*, where he had all sort of content, notwithstanding that his enemies had their spies and agents there, and in all other places where he had been or was to be, dealing strongly in his *contraire*, and assuring all Princes and States, that all the assistance should be given to *Montrose* for the King of *Britain's* service would be lost; he being a man without friends, and hated by his native country, excommunicated by the Church, and forfaulted by the Estates, &c. At that time the King of *Denmark* was in *Holstein*. The Gentry there did meet at *Flensburgh* Oct. 8. at the King of *Denmark's* desire, for to consult of *Montrose's* business, and the result of that meeting was to his mind. In the mean time his Majesty willed *Montrose* to address himself to *Copenhagen*, and to speak with his Counsel there; and remained himself to further all he could the King of *Britain's* affairs.

Montrose received great satisfaction in *Denmark*, and having sent before to the Queen of *Sweden*, found business in an hopeful condition there. All moved him to go thither himself in the beginning of *November*; where having proposed his business to her

A.D. 1649 her Majesty, he received so favourable an answer, accompanied with so speedy performances, that all things (he confessed) succeeded with him there beyond his expectation; insomuch that whatsoever he desired was presently granted unto him, and more than he desired of all things her Majesty's dominions could afford, and was so forward for the King of *Britain's* assistance, that none dared to speak there of a Parliament man. And when old General *Lesley* sent one thither (among other things) to demand the pensions due to him and his Cousin *David Lesley*, her Majesty would not hear of them, and did cause signify to him that was sent, that she had nothing to do with them since they were become traytors to their King: and on the other part gave new pensions to all those officers, Scotch and English, who had been in the Swedish service before, and had been faithful to their King. Besides, Chancellor *Oxenstierne* being not altogether so forward, it pleased her Majesty to depute others more affectioned to treat with the Danes upon the frontiers of those two Kingdoms, touching their mutual concurrence and the speedy advancement of *Montrose's* business: which treaty concluded all things to his wishes.

This exemplary carriage of that noble and generous Queen was no small furtherance to *Montrose's* negotiation with all other neighbouring Princes, who granted free quarters in all their territories to *Montrose's* soldiers; and which is very remarkable, the Burgesses in towns, and Boors in the country, consented to the same, and gave actually good and cheerful quarters without grudge, shewing themselves as forward and willing to contribute to the furtherance of the King of *Britain's* affairs, as their Masters and Princes.

During *Montrose's* abode in *Denmark*, he had news from his Majesty's Agent, after his arrival at *Vienna*,

Vienna, that his Imperial Majesty did heartily express his longing desire to give all assistance possible to his Majesty of *Great Britain*; and that all the Princes of the Empire were as well affected. The Emperor demanded a meeting at *Francfort* on the *Mein*, and did give full power to *Piccolomini* to treat with them concerning the same. The effects whereof followed according to *Montrose's* hearts desire, and will e'er it be long be fully known to the astonishment of the Rebels. The Duke of *Courland* has contributed very nobly, furnishing six great ships loaden with corn, and whatever else was demanded of him by Sir *John Cockran*, who went from thence to the King of *Poland*, who is so forward that he cannot suffer to hear of a Scotsman there (whereof there are many thousands masters of families in his Majesty's Dominions, besides children and servants) who is not honest and loyal to his King.

A.D. 1649

Sir *William Johnstoun* is returned to *Hamburg*, having negotiated with the Dukes of *Brunswick*, *Cell* and *Hanover*, from whom he received all sort of contentment; who writes hither from *Hamburg*, dated *December 24. N. S.* that though *Montrose's* business seems to go slowly, yet they go on strongly and speedily, all things necessary by God's happy providence being furnished to them, even as they could wish; and that *Montrose* having sent 3000 men at several times before to *Orkney*, there parted nine ships of great burthen in the beginning of *December, N. S.* full of men and horse, and passed the Sound to go for *Scotland*; but the commander's name was kept secret. Also that Major *David Grotborie* took voyage with five compleat companies the 14th of *December, N. S.* to sail for *Orkney*; the rest of *Montrose's* men being shipped at *Gottenburg*, where there were 14 sail of great ships, besides small bottoms, waiting upon *Montrose*. Further

A.D. 1649 ther he writes, that the notorious rebel *Bradshaw* did send to *Hamburg* one who arrived there about *December 20. N. S.* to be deputy of the English company, and to command them to take an oath to be obedient to the present Government without King or Lords. But how soon Col. Sir *William Johnstoun* understood of it, (being entrusted there in Sir *John Cockran's* absence) he went to the *Burgomaisters*, and did shew them the inconveniences would redound upon their town and traffick; and withal that he was ready to protest against them, if they should permit it; and that in so doing they would directly declare themselves in a party against the King. Whereupon they found a necessity laid upon them to command the Treasurer of the English Company (the Deputy being absent) that no such thing should be done, and so it evanished.

During these three months by-gone, *Montrose* has sent every week or fortnight an Express to *Scotland*, and has had constant correspondence from his Majesty's loyal subjects there, assuring him, that the whole people and gentry, and most part of the nobility will join with him upon his first appearing; and that there be strange changes there, even in those that were his greatest enemies; and that the most part of the officers and soldiers commanded by *David Lesley* have vowed solemnly to render themselves for the King under his command.

David Lesley marched northward in *November*, having only with him ten troops of horse, and 700 foot, and appointed to have a rendezvous at *Inverness*: but first caused divulge a feigned proclamation in *Montrose's* name, to try the pulse of the people. But no man stirred; neither when he pressed them to rise, would they at all take arms. His intention was to have made himself strong, to have gone against my Lord *Kinnoul* in *Orkney*, but he was disappointed. Neither could he have been able to have

have effected any thing there, the Isles of *Orkney* being strong to the number of 8000 fighting men all loyal to the King; besides 3000 gallant men that were come from *Montrose* and had fortified themselves strongly in the town of *Kirkwall*: having also some three or four good ships, wherewith *Kinnoul* falls in when he pleases upon the main land, and brings all necessary provisions for the soldiers. One of these ships belongs to one Captain *Ball* of *Leith*, who was loaded with arms and ammunition of my Lord *Argyle's* to go about by the North Isles to my Lord *Argyle's* country, for furnishing of two or three of his houses there: but the Captain went in with ship and all to my Lord *Kinnoul*. The ship carries 18 guns, and has taken since a ship of ten guns. Thereafter the same Captain came over from *Orkney* to *Denmark* with his ship, and brought with him in *November* Sir *James Douglas*, my Lord *Moreton's* brother, and one Major *Melvin*, with many Gentlemen of Quality from all places of the Kingdom, who in the name of the whole Kingdom did intreat and press *Montrose* earnestly to go to *Scotland*; and not stay for all his men (who might follow,) for his own presence was able to do the business, and would undoubtedly bring 20000 men together for the King's service; all men being weary and impatient to live any longer under that bondage, pressing down their estates, their persons and their consciences. And no doubt he is parted long e're now, if the advertisement he has got of an express coming from his Majesty to him have not stayed him: for Col. *Johnstoun* writes that he waited at *Gottenberg* the coming of that express, who I believe is at him long e're now.

In this time he is not idle, for after he found all things in readiness, he set forth his declaration in the beginning of *November*: whereupon very many Officers and of the greatest reputation came flocking to

A.D. 1649 to him; to whom he has given commissions for the second levy, which is to be levied under the command of *Coningsmark* to the number of 10 or 12000 of foot and horse, who are to be landed (God willing) about the middle of *April* in *Scotland* or *England* as *Montrose* shall give them order.

He has shipped to the number of 16 or 18000 arms, 24 excellent field-pieces, 9 pieces of battery with all things belonging, store of powder, match and ball, abundance of corn for the provision of his army, and besides those 3000 men long since in *Orkney*, he had ready 5000 foot and 12 or 1500 horse to be shipped at *Gottenberg* and other places; whereof a great part is gone in the month of *December*: and before the midst of *February*, I hope there shall be certainty of all by an express. *Montrose* intends to send to his Majesty, how soon he shall be in a posture for beginning that service in *Scotland*.

The rebels his sworn enemies at home and abroad do vent by their letters and printed papers, to abuse both King and people, that *Montrose* is not to be feared to trouble them in *Scotland*, in respect that they know most assuredly, that he has neither men nor money, nor arms, nor shipping; and that the Queen of *Sweden* and the King of *Denmark* and others feed him with fair words, &c. But herein they know not how much they have contributed to that which he mainly desired, to wit, that all his negotiation should be kept most secret, q^lk has ever been his way. For during the space of two or three months none knew but himself the particulars he intended or was about, and those to whom he intrusted any thing were men of known fidelity and secrecy. He did not write himself to any friend, nor suffered he any that belonged to him to touch any particular; only in general, that they hoped all would go well, and very few had that much assurance till his business was compleat: and what

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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what was done in *Denmark* and *Sweden* was given ^{A.D. 1649} out to be for other ends and designs that concerned those several Kingdoms without any mention of *Montrose* or any thing having relation to him.

And now there are letters lately come, reporting that *Montrose* is no more to be found in *Denmark* nor *Sweden*, having gone incognito to *Scotland*, no man knowing when or what way he went; having left behind him his Lieutenant-General, my Lord *Rythen*, General Major *Carpe*, my Lord *Naper* and many Officers ready to make sail at such time as he has designed to them: but a short time will clear all. In the mean time I am desired from *Hamburg*, *Denmark* and *Sweden* to find some faithful friend to give information to his Majesty of all these former truths. *Montrose* has caused make the King's Standart all black, all full of bloody hands and swords, and a red character or motto above carrying revenge.

News inclosed in Sir E. Nicholas's Letter.

Paris, Jan. 15, 1650. N. S.

THE Peace of *Bourdeaux* hath been received ^{A.D. 1649} with great joy and bonfires, and registred in that Court of Parliament, though the Duke de' *Espernon* did what lay in his power to annul the treaty.

The business against the Duke of *Beaufort* and the rest hath been so tossed and canvassed in the Parliament here, that it is hoped it will in time be worn to nothing.

The Prince of *Condé* produceth pregnant proofs of the conspiracy to kill him, and that the Marquess de la *Boullaye* had appointed divers horsemen to attend him at the end of *Pontneuf* that night his Coach was shot at; and that there had been private meetings that day between him, the Duke of *Beaufort*, and the Coadjutor. The defendants infirmate

A.D. 1649 the witnesses as slight persons, and so hope to overthrow their depositions.

Here is a proposition on foot for the raising of a great sum of money upon the Clergy, by permitting every incumbent to name his successor, and to pay for it a fourth of the full revenue of the Benefice four years together, pretending to find an expedient to make it no symony.

The Swisses who long since received positive order from their Principals at home to return and withdraw the whole body of that nation that serves this Crown, (which amounts to near upon eighteen thousand men) unless they might be paid their arrears, which is a vast sum, can yet receive no satisfaction: and where to find money to do it may seem impossible, in regard the ordinary revenues of this Crown are so much impaired since the last troubles of *Paris*.

Monfieur *Augier* hath lately received positive order from his superiors in *England*, not to treat any more without present payment of ready money in compensation of the *Turkey* debts, and of the losses in shipping of late years sustained by the English, the performance whereof is not possibly to be expected in this conjuncture; whence many presume a rupture, and here is already a great talk of *Augiers* return into *England*.

The overgrown strength of the present power in *England* doth already so much trouble them here, that they would strain themselves to any thing they could to hinder the union of the Isle of *Great Britain* in one or several Common-wealths; greatly fearing that *Scotland* will at last fall into the common league of Republick and Presbytery with *England* and *Holland*.

Upon Tuesday last the Queen regent having, under pretence of holding a Council *d'en hault*, drawn the Prince of *Condé*, the Prince of *Conty*, and the Duke

Duke of *Longueville* to the Palais Cardinal, they A.D. 1649
 were all there arrested by Monsieur *Guitaut* Captain
 of the Queen's Guards in the little gallery, and car-
 ried down the private backstairs through the gar-
 den, where at the gate that goes to Cardinal *Maza-*
rine's house, they were put into a coach laid there
 for that purpose, so to the horse market, where two
 companies of Gens d'Arms and Chevaux Legers re-
 ceived them and conducted them out at the *Porte*
de Richelieu through the fields to the *Bois de Vincen-*
nes. This was done between five and six a clock
 at night, and carried so privately, that in the Queen's
 bed-chamber where the Queen was indisposed up-
 on her bed, it was not known till a good while
 after. President *Perrault*, heretofore Secretary to
 the old Prince of *Condé*, and Intendant to this, was
 about the same time arrested upon the *Pontneuf*, and
 the Comte de *Brienne* was immediately sent to the
 old Princess of *Condé* with command to retire. The
 Dutches of *Longueville* upon notice hereof went out
 of town the same night; so did the Duke of *Bouillon*,
 the Marshal de *Turenne*, Prince of *Marsillac*, the
 Marquess of *Beveron*, young *Moussaye*, and others of
 the cabal. The Prince of *Condé's* cabinet, and the
 President *Perrault's* papers were also seized upon.
 The people upon the first rumour, that some persons
 of Quality were made prisoners, began to take arms,
 thinking it had been the Duke of *Beaufort*. Inso-
 much that to appease them the Duke of *Orleans*
 (who kept his chamber having not been well three
 or four days) intreated the Duke of *Beaufort* to shew
 himself in the City, thereby to quiet the people:
 which he did, riding about on horseback the most
 part of the night, and found much ado to keep the
 people from making bonfires; so great their joy
 was when they understood the truth of what was
 done. The day following the Queen regent sent
 for the Parliament, and in the presence of the Dukes

A.D. 1649 and Peers and Marshals of *France*, caused to be read unto them a declaration, the substance whereof is published in this inclosed print, containing the reasons and motives of these her proceedings, with which all men here seem generally well satisfied; not only out of their hatred to the P. of *Condé* (who had every way lost himself,) but also out of a belief that this action was necessary as the best, if not the only means to establish the internal peace and tranquillity of this Kingdom.

They already speak of bestowing the Government of *Burgundy* upon the Duke of *Vendosme*, of *Normandy* upon the Comte de *Harcourt*, of *Champaign* upon the Marshal de *l'Hospital*, and of *Berry* upon Marshal *du Plessis Praslin*. The Parliament is at work about the abolition of the Duke of *Beaufort*, the Coadjutor, and the rest of the Frondeurs.

According to his Majesty's commands, I presented a Memoir to the Comte de *Brienne* demanding this King's favour, (either publick or private as they thought fit,) for the enjoyment of the Prize in *Brittany* taken by Sir *John Greenville's* ship, solicited by Mr. *More*, and likewise in his Majesty's claim of the tenths and fifteenths at *Nants*, &c. according to Mr. *Fesse's* request. After some days deliberation, his positive answer was, that they lately held a great Council, where they settled what concerned the English affairs; which shall speedily be published, and from which they will not vary; withal telling me, that they could not at present shew his Majesty any kindness of this nature.

So praying for the preservation of his Majesty's sacred Person and speedily establishment, I rest

Paris, Jan. 22,
1650.

Your Honour's, &c.

RICH. BROWNE.

*A Copy of his Majesty's Letter to the Committee
of Estates of Scotland.*

WE have received your several letters lately *A.D. 1649*
presented to us by Mr. *Wynram* of *Liberton*,
and do graciously accept all those expressions of af-
fection and fidelity you make to us therein, toge-
ther with that tender sense of our present condition,
and just indignation which you profess to have a-
gainst the execrable murderers of the King our late
dear and Royal Father of blessed memory, believing
that your intentions are as full of loyalty and candor
to us, as we are and always have been real in our
desires to beget such a clear and right understand-
ing between us and all our subjects of that our anti-
ent kingdom of *Scotland*, as might be a sure founda-
tion of their future peace and happiness, and an ef-
fectual means to root up those seeds of division and
animosity which have been occasioned by the late
troubles, and so to unite the hearts and affections of
our subjects to one another, and to us their lawful
King and Sovereign, that by their due obedience
and submission to our just authority, we may be en-
abled to maintain them in peace and prosperity, and
to protect them in their religion and liberties, as to
our Kingly Office belongeth; and as we have ever
resolved to contribute all that depends of us to these
good ends and to the just satisfaction of all our sub-
jects of that our Kingdom; so we have now thought
fit by the return of Mr. *Wynram* to desire, that Com-
missioners be sent to us sufficiently authorized to treat
and agree with us upon all particulars, as well in re-
lation to the concernments and just satisfaction of
our subjects there, as to those helps and assistances
we may reasonably expect from them for the bring-
ing of the murderers of our late dear Father of
blessed memory to condign punishment, and for the

A.D. 1649 recovery of our just rights in all our Kingdoms, and that they attend us by the 15th of *March* next at *Breda*, where we intend (God willing) to be. In order whereunto and in confidence of such a treaty, as also to evidence to you and to the whole world, that we sincerely desire to agree with you, and expecting that no other use shall be made of it to the prejudice of us or our affairs than what we intend in order to the treaty, notwithstanding many important considerations that might have dissuaded us from doing any thing antecedently at this time: We have resolved to direct two letters to you by the name of the Committee of Estates of that our Kingdom, hoping that from the confidence we express in our clear and candid intentions towards us, you will derive effectual arguments to yourselves of mutual confidence in us, which (by the blessing of Almighty God, by your just and prudent moderation, by the earnest desire we have to oblige all our subjects of that our Kingdom, and by the means of the treaty which we expect and desire,) may be the foundation of a full and happy agreement between us, and of the future peace and security of that nation, which we assure you we passionately desire and shall effectually endeavour.

Given at our Court at *Castle-Elizabeth*, in our Island of *Jersey* the 11th day of *January* 1649, in the first year of our Reign.

The King to the M. of Montrose.

RIGHT trusty and right entirely beloved cousin, we greet you well. An Address having been lately made to us from *Scotland* by a letter, (whereof we send you the copy herewith) wherein they desire that we should acknowledge their Parliament, and particularly the two last Sessions, and thereupon offer to send a solemn address to us for a full

full agreement : We have in answer thereunto returned our letters to them, (a copy whereof we likewise send you here inclosed,) by which we have appointed a speedy time and place for their Commissioners to attend us : And to the end you may not apprehend that we intend, either by any thing contained in those letters, or by the treaty we expect, to give the least impediment to your proceedings, we think fit to let you know, that as we conceive that your preparations have been an effectual motive that hath induced them to make the said address to us, so your vigorous proceedings will be a good means to bring them to such moderation in the said treaty as probably may produce an agreement and a present union of that whole nation in our service. We assure you therefore, that we will not, before or during the treaty, do any thing contrary to that power and authority which we have given you by our Commission, nor consent to any thing that may bring the least degree of diminution to it. And if the said treaty should produce an agreement, we will with our utmost care so provide for the honour and interest of yourself and of all that shall engage with you, as shall let the world see the high esteem we have of you, and our full confidence in that eminent courage, conduct and loyalty, which you have always expressed to the King our late dear Father of blessed memory, and to us, both by your actions and sufferings for our cause. In the mean time we think fit to declare to you, that we have called them a Committee of Estates only in order to a treaty, and for no other end whatsoever : and if the treaty do not produce an agreement, as we are already assured that the calling of them a Committee of Estates in the direction of a letter doth neither acknowledge them to be legally so nor make them such ; so we shall immediately declare to all our subjects of *Scotland* what we hold them to be, not-

A.D 1649 withstanding any appellation we now give them, thereby to satisfy them and the whole world, that we desire to reduce our subjects of that Kingdom to their due obedience to us by our just and honourable condescensions and by all endeavours of kindness and favour on our part, rather than by war and hostility, if their unreasonable demands do not necessitate us to that, as to the only way and remedy left us. We require and authorize you therefore to proceed vigorously and effectually in your undertaking, and to act in all things in order to it, as you shall judge most necessary for the support thereof and for our service in that way; wherein we doubt not but all our loyal and well affected subjects of *Scotland* will cordially and effectually join with you, and by that addition of strength, either dispose those that are otherwise minded to make reasonable demands to us in the treaty, or be able to force them to it by arms in case of their obstinate refusal. To which end we authorize you to communicate and publish this our letter to all such persons as you shall think fit. And so we bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our Court in *Jersey*, the $\frac{12}{22}$ day of *January* 16 $\frac{4}{5}$.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

I pray be pleased to decypher this yourself.

ALL the King's hopes of assistance are, as I am informed,

I. From the M. of *Montrose's* endeavours in *Denmark*, *Germany* and other parts thereabouts; where (it's said) he will raise 3000 men, and these (it's hoped) are in good forwardness.

II. The King of *Poland* hath promised to send the

the King 4000 men at his own charge to any place : *A.D. 1649*
but in this I have no great belief.

III. The Emperor of *Muscovy* (it's hoped) will supply the King with about 8000*l.* which not long since was lent him by the late King's means.

IV. There is likewise hopes, that the King of *Spain* will lend his Majesty a good sum of money.

V. From *France* there is nothing to be expected.

VI. From *Holland*, all is rather against than for the King.

VII. The Queen of *Sweden* hath furnished the King with 10000 arms and munition proportionable : whereof one half is assigned to the M. of *Montrose* ; the other is designed for *Ireland* ; but these are engaged for above 1000 *l.*

Lord Byron to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellence,

I GIVE you this farther trouble upon the occasion of my Lord *Goring's* coming to this town, since I writ my former letter by Col. *Rawlins*. His design is to go from hence into *Spain* about the settlement of a pension promised him there, and by the way, to contribute his best endeavours for the hastening of such supplies of arms and money, as we hope that King will send into *Ireland*. He professes a most passionate affection to your Excellence's Person, and desires rather to serve the King under your command, than in any other condition whatsoever ; and to that purpose intends as soon as he hath done his business in *Spain*, to repair to you, without any thought of importuning you for any commands, (which he supposes are all disposed of to others) but only to serve as a Voluntier, and to have the honour of being near your Person. Neither would he resolve of this, till he had acquainted

A.D. 1649 my Lady Marchioness (now present here) and had her approbation in it; being pleased to make me the instrument of carrying this proposition to her, and hath now sent this bearer Col. *Marsh* a very honest Gentleman, and one that hath served his Majesty in all his wars, expressly to your Excellence, both to know your pleasure in that particular, and to receive such further orders as you shall please to send him into *Spain*, where he stays till *Marsh* return to him. I am confident my Lord *Goring* may be serviceable to your Excellence in many respects, and therefore have rather encouraged him in this his resolution, than any ways dehorted him from it; and especially because he is to pass by the Spanish Court, where he hath such habitudes (by reason of the service both his father and he hath done that Crown) that I believe may produce very good effects in relation to the affairs of *Ireland*, if it please God to make your Excellence able to stay for them. And in the mean time those hopes may in some measure cheer up the drooping spirits of the people there, and not make them think themselves altogether abandoned: and truly, my Lord, the letters I have lately seen from the King's Ambassadors in *Spain*, give not only hopes but assurances of a very noble supply of money from that Crown; which the King hath resolved wholly to apply to the relief of *Ireland*. This is all I have to say to your Excellence at this time, and am, &c.

Beauvais, March 11, 1649.

JOHN BYRON.

Mr.

Mr. Secretary Long to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

HIS Majesty, though not recovered out of the *A.D. 1649* astonishment and distraction which his Father's unfortunate death hath brought upon him, hath his thoughts so bent upon the affairs of *Ireland*, that he hath commanded such dispatches to be made to your Lordship, as were conceived to be immediately necessary for the service of that kingdom. I send here inclosed a list of the dispatches, which I have delivered to this bearer to be transmitted to your Excellency, and if there be any other thing necessary, his Majesty hath commanded me to signify to your Lordship, that it shall be sent to you upon the first intimation from your Lordship of the necessity of it.

There is a man here called *Tompson*, who came lately out of *Ireland*, and doth confidently report, that your Excellency hath concluded a peace with his Majesty's Roman Catholick subjects; and that there is an express coming to advertise the same to his Majesty. This is a great comfort to us in the midst of many and great misfortunes: and if be true, I doubt not but his Majesty will be shortly in *Ireland*; this being a thing that he hath always desired to have effected before his coming into that kingdom.

We do not well know what prizes Prince *Rupert* hath brought with him into *Ireland*: but his Majesty hath herewith sent a warrant to Mr. *Fanshawe* (who is appointed receiver of the monies arising by the sale of prize goods) to pay ten thousand pounds out of the first monies, to be disposed for the relief of the army in *Munster*, in such manner as your Lordship shall appoint,

'Tis

A.D. 1649 'Tis now three weeks since we have heard from *Paris*: and the King hath received no letter or message from the Queen, since the death of his Father. I fear her Majesty's affliction is so great, that she is not capable of any business. We hope my Lord *Fermyn* will be shortly here.

My Lord *Lanerick* and my Lord *Lauderdale* are here both; as likewise the Marquess of *Montrose*. There is yet no good correspondence between them: but there is hopes they will be reconciled and join in that course that shall be thought best for the King's service in *Scotland*. We have not yet heard from *Scotland*: it is thought they will acknowledge and declare the King; but with such reservation and restrictions, as shall keep him from any exercise of power, as long as they please; but if we had *Ireland*, I should not despair of *Scotland* in a short time after.

I send your Excellency herewith a Commission, which his Majesty hath been pleased to grant to Major-General *Monroe*, to be delivered unto him, if you shall think fit, or have no other design upon that part of the kingdom; his Majesty referring it wholly to your Lordship to do therein, as you shall think best for his service.

I have nothing more to acquaint your Excellency withal; but that your letter of the second of *December* is now decyphered by my Lord *Digby*'s cypher; a copy whereof was sent us from *France* upon occasion of your Lordship's letter. I have no more to add, but that I am with all imaginable devotion and respect,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's, &c.

Hague, March 1, 16⁴⁹/₅₀.

ROBERT LONG.


A List of the Dispatches sent.

- I. **A** Proclamation to confirm Lord-Lieutenant, *A.D. 1649*
&c.
- II. General Commission to confirm Lord-Lieutenant, *&c.*
- III. Large Commission confirming former Commissions, *&c.*
- IV. Letter to grant Patents to Judges, *&c.*
- V. Letter to swear old Councillors, *&c.*
- VI. To pass a Patent of President of *Munster* to Lord *Inchiquin*, *&c.*
- VII. To pass a Patent of President of *Connaught* and *Galway* to Marquess *Clanricard*, *&c.*
- VIII. To recommend new Councillors, *&c.*
- IX. To give orders for a Great Seal for *Ireland*, *&c.*

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

MY former of $\frac{11}{21}$ of *Febr.* sent by Sir *J. Preston* acquainted you with all that I then had worthy your knowledge. The King is now gotten thus far on his way towards *Breda*, where the Treaty with the Scots is appointed. In the mean time we have it several ways that the M. of *Montrose* is landed in *Scotland* with considerable forces: but having no Express from him, and the Presbyterian Scots affirming the contrary with much confidence, we rest not assured of it, though many credible circumstances render us apt to believe it. The people of *Scotland* in general are (for certain) extremely well affected to the King, and rightly disposed to join with the M. of *Montrose*, as soon as he shall appear in that kingdom in any good posture able to secure their rising: but some (not without reason) apprehend,

A.D. 1649  hend, that the report of the now approaching Treaty will make those of the better sort forbear to appear for him, until they shall see the issue of this Treaty.

My Lady Marchioness of *Ormonde* having been here to kiss the Queen's hands during his Majesty's abode, I shall forbear to give you the trouble of many particulars, which I presume you will have from her hands. We have reason to hope that his Majesty's affairs will succeed well in *Spain* through the industry of his Ambassadors there. The troubles in *France* are not so well appeased, as some conceived they would have been upon the restraint of the Princes. I much apprehend that the *Hollanders* will at length unite openly with the rebels of *England*; though all the Protestant Princes of *Germany* abhor and detest their ways. The King says he will, when he arrives in *Holland*, increase the number of his Councillors as soon as he can: and truly unless he shall do so and unite those that are of his Council, I cannot expect any prosperity in his affairs. I pray be pleased in all your letters to advise his Majesty to settle a faithful and united Council to manage his great affairs; for without it none of his party in *England* will, with so great hazard as they must run, dare to appear. I must assure your Excellency that Mr. *Seymour* is entirely your servant and as solicitous in all your concerns as is possible. I do little business, nor have any heart to it, being his Majesty hath not a formed Council, and acts many things of importance by hands that few honest men will confide in. The King hath not above these three months received any letters from P. *Rupert* till lately: he is now at *Lisbon* and hath many rich prizes, but the King hath received no money from him, that I can hear of. The Lord *Colepepper* is at length gone forwards for *Russia* in his ambassage. In *England* the rebels are full

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full of fears and jealousies: which God increase and prosper your noble endeavours, which is the prayer of, &c. A.D. 1649

Beauvais, March $\frac{5}{15}$, 16 $\frac{49}{50}$.

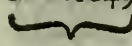
E. NICHOLAS.

Mr. Henry Seymour to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellence,

SINCE my last which miscarried in the dispatch his Majesty made to you, I have not till this present met with an opportunity of giving you an account of those commands you charged me with, never since my arrival; which was so seasonable as to interrupt the breach with the Scots: which was in a very forward way of effecting, proceeding from the misinformation of your successes in *Ireland*; they having remained here in a long ignorance of all passages in that kingdom, till your truer representation from thence by me not only changed that design, but gave a dispatch in two days to Mr. *Windram* the Scots Commissioner, which he had in vain solicited six weeks before without the least advance. Her Majesty and those that make their application by her give great hopes of a successful issue from this Treaty, which his Majesty is now in pursuance of within six days journey of *Breda*, which is the place appointed, *March 25, N. S.*

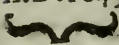
I have often put his Majesty in mind of those supplies your daily wants cry out for, by representing the time of the year as almost past for sending: who tells me he hath taken the best care his sad condition will give leave. The particulars you will understand from Mr. Secretary's letter, of all the means there propounded. I am very diffident of the per-

A.D. 1649 formance of any, except that from *Spain*. His Majesty hath a most just sense of your services, and the daily difficulties you struggle with in that pursuance, and your further endeavours, by the proposition you lately made to him about the reduction of *Guernsey*, which he conceives to be of that consequence in the posture that his affairs are in at present, that next *London* it is the place most to be desired, and hath at that rate laboured to hire shipping for the transporting of those men you promised: but his credit is not of that reputation to speed. If it be possible to supply his sailing from *Ireland*, his Majesty will give the fines of all the delinquents in the Island to compass that work, which my information tells me did amount to 20,000 *l.* in *Jersey*. The commission that Lord *Percy* had is recalled, and his Majesty intends to keep it in his hands till he hear from you, whether it be possible for you to undertake it from thence. Sir *E. Nicholas*, whose business his Majesty commanded me to tell you was done at your request, and to whom you gave me leave to impart this business to, has command from his Majesty to write to you at large, not only about the command of this place, but of all such ships and frigates as you shall bring with you, or shall come in to you, as absolutely as *P. Rupert* has from the *D. of York*, who remains still at *Jersey*.

This Gentleman Mr. *Rawlins* is conceived to be a person well affected to your service; who will give an account of all passages from hence, particularly of the attempts of one *Rockfort* to your prejudice, who did not want abettors of his ridiculous propositions. I shall only make you acquainted with one of his Majesty's expressions, that may not only serve for answer to this, but an assurance against any thing of like endeavour hereafter; which was, *They should as soon remove a rock, as lessen any part of that high esteem he had of you, or any of that power*

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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be had given you. I only beg the same justice from *A.D. 1649*
your Excellence in believing me, &c. 

Beauvais in our way to *Breda*,
March 15, 1649.

HEN. SEYMOUR.

I had forgot in my letter to advertise you that the Parliament had landed 500 men at *Guernsey*. The engagement is more pressed than ever in *England*; sequestration to follow the refusers: and it is advertised from very good hands a massacre is much feared, by a secret preparation of dark lanterns and other materials proper for so devilish a design. If the Scots do not meet at *Breda*, of which there is a rumour, or if the treaty succeeded not, his Majesty is resolved to lose no more time in idleness; and therefore must either go to you or to my Lord *Montrose* in *Scotland*; his own inclinations lean to the first; but a powerful interest press the other, whose game lies another way.

Mr. Secretary Long to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

YOUR Excellency will receive by this Gentleman Mr. *Rawlins*, a full information of the present state and resolutions of this Court, and will understand his Majesty's mind in all things, by his own letters and instructions.

The King and Queen are now at *Beauvais*, a town about 16 leagues from *Paris*, whither his Majesty is come to meet the Queen in his journey from *Fersey* to *Breda*, to which place he is now going to meet Commissioners from *Scotland*, if any come, of which we are not yet certain: and I am sure many here have not being wanting to interpose all the impediments, and to give all the interruptions they could
to

A.D. 1649 to his Majesty's negotiations with the Scots; and amongst the rest have caused a letter to be printed, which his Majesty writ to the Marquess of *Montrose*, as he did to your Excellency, upon occasion of his intention to treat with that nation; which, though proper enough to be said to my Lord of *Montrose* upon that occasion, was very unfit to be published, and was accordingly ordered to be kept secret. But his Majesty commanding me to give one copy of it, it is by some practice printed in three languages, with very great disadvantage to the King by the use the rebels of *England* make of it.

His Majesty hath commanded me to signify to your Excellency, that he hath a desire to have his goods formerly sent into *Ireland* returned back to him again: and intreats your Excellency, if you can have means to do it, to send them into any part of *Holland*; so that it may be done without any dissatisfaction or apprehension of the army or his Majesty's subjects of that kingdom, who it may be are in expectation of his Majesty's repair into *Ireland*, and will take the sending back of these goods as an argument to the contrary. And therefore his Majesty leaves it to your Excellency to do it, or not do it, as you shall find it convenient or inconvenient.

I humbly beg your Excellency's pardon for having forgotton to advertise you of a particular that past some time since, and I conceive is necessary for you to know. It is, that when the King was last at *St. Germain's*, by the motion and mediation chiefly of Sir *George Ratcliff*, his Majesty granted to Doctor *Tirrel*, who was formerly a kind of Agent for the supreme Council in *France*, the like authority that he formerly had for them, with reference principally to do service to Irish vessels that should come into the ports of *France*. If your Excellency be not satisfied of the thing, nor of the person, if you please
to

to signify your mind in a word or two to me, I ^{A.D. 1649} shall find an expedient to revoke that authority. The man professes much to you ; but I take him to be a knave.

There is a particular that concerns *Henry Seymour*, which his Majesty hath commanded me to recommend to you : it is that, in the letter he brought to your Excellency concerning the Garter, he is made but a Deputy upon the matter to Sir *Edward Walker*, contrary to custom as hath been since conceived, and to the undervalue of Mr. *Seymour* as he apprehends, some of his quality having since refused to carry the Garter to others, but by an immediate authority from the King, without any relation to Sir *Edward Walker*, or mention of him, and have accordingly obtained the same. His suit to your Excellency is, that you will be pleased to burn that letter you received by him, and to accept this now sent without a date, so that you may make it of the same date with the former ; which his Majesty desires and authorises you to do.

My Lady Marquess of *Ormonde* and my Lady *Isabella Thynne* came from *Caen* to this place with the King, to wait upon the Queen, and are not yet returned ; but I think intend to be gone the beginning of the next week.

I should write more freely and more fully of all particulars, if I did not assure myself, that my Lady *Ormonde* will give your Excellency an account of all things here, she being particularly informed and instructed in all things fit for your knowledge.

The King is advertised by letters from Prince *Rupert*, dated at the end of *December* last, that he had then at *Lisbon* so many prizes as would yield him 40,000*l.* sterling. The King hath written to him to send 10,000*l.* in money, arms and ammunition to your Excellency : but I cannot give you any hopes to expect it, since the like order was

A.D. 1649 given the last year, when much more was taken than now, without any performance of it.

I have seen Lieutenant General *Farrall*'s letter to the King by Mr. *Rockford*; and find nothing credential in it at all, but only civilities and professions of duty to the King.

There have been very great and remarkable changes of late in this State of *France*. The Prince of *Condé*, the Prince of *Conty* his Brother, and the Duke of *Longueville*, three of the greatest Persons, are all imprisoned, and their Governments disposed to others. Monsieur *Seguier* the late Chancellor is retired, and Monsieur *de Chasteauneuf* in his place. Madam *de Chevreuse* and Mr. *de Beaufort* are now the great Persons at Court, and are both passionately inclined to the Peace between *France* and *Spain*; and indeed all the party of the late *Frondeurs* are for peace, and are now the party in credit at Court. The Duke of *Bouillon*, the Marshal *de Turenne* his Brother, and some others are still in arms in favour of the imprisoned Princes: but the Court is removed towards them, in hope by the King's presence to pacify all things there, with the like success that they have done the same thing in *Normandy*.

Our Embassadors in *Spain* give us great assurances, that that Court is very well disposed to a peace; and all here profess the same; and yet a means cannot be found out to bring them to a treaty.

I humbly beg your Excellency's pardon for this tedious letter, and shall ever remain,

Your Excellency's, &c.

Beauvais, March 1 $\frac{1}{2}$,
1650.

ROBERT LONG.

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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A.D. 1649

The King to the M. of Ormonde.

C H A R L E S R.

RIGHT trusty and entirely beloved Cousin and Councillor we greet you well. Having thoroughly weighed the prudent propositions you sent us by *Henry Seymour* concerning the reducing of our Island of *Guernesey*, which at present stands out in rebellion against us; we do not only very well approve thereof, but in order thereunto have employed several persons to see if a competent proportion of shipping might have been hired for transporting from *Ireland* to *Guernesey* two thousand or two thousand five hundred landmen; but find it altogether impossible for us in these parts to procure so much shipping. Wherefore that so advantageous and important a proposition as this you have made for reducing that Island may not come to nothing, we have thought good by these our letters, (expressly sent by this bearer) to desire you to use your best industry and endeavours to get (if it be possible) in *Ireland* a sufficient number of vessels for transporting of the said men into *Guernesey*: and we engage ourselves, that if by your means and industry our said Island shall be reduced, we will not only confer the government of the same upon you, but also all the confiscations and forfeitures of the inhabitants of that island towards reimbursement and satisfaction of your charge and hazard in reducing thereof. And whereas for your better effecting of that design, it will be necessary for the ships you send with the said forces to put into the road of *Fersey*; we shall presently give directions to our dearest brother the Duke of *York*, (who now resides at *Fersey*, and will continue there for some months) to cause all possible assistance to be

given

A.D. 1649 given to the persons you shall entrust with the execution of that design. And we will likewise send him a warrant and order directed to the present Governor in *Cornet* castle in our isle of *Guernesey*, requiring him not only to give such as you shall employ in that service his best assistance in that design, but to deliver into their hands the command and possession of that castle, and to receive such forces as the commander you shall send with them shall direct, in order to the taking of the said island: not doubting but you will vigorously pursue what you have so affectionately proposed, and which may be of so great importance for our service; which must now be put into execution with all secrecy and expedition, lest the shipping of the rebels of *England* should prevent you. And for the further encouragement of yourself and those who shall assist you in this important enterprize; we hereby promise, that in case you shall reduce our said island of *Guernesey*, (which will be a work of singular advantage to our service) we will take effectual order, that you shall have a sufficient commission and powers from our dear brother the Duke of *York*, and to have under your particular command all such ships, frigats and vessels, as well Irish as others, as shall put themselves under you, or as you shall be able to draw thither unto you, with such liberty and privileges as are due to the Admiral of any squadron. We had acquainted this bearer Lieutenant Colonel *Rawlins*, (whom we employed about this service) with several particulars to be by you considered of in pursuance of this design, and desire you accordingly to give credit to him. Given at our Court at *Beauvais*, *March* $\frac{3}{13}$, in the second year of our Reign 16 $\frac{4}{5}$.

Mr.

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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A.D. 1649

Mr. Secretary Long to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

SINCE the dispatch of Master *Rawlins* from *Beauvais*, his Majesty is arrived at this town of *Breda*, to meet the Scots Commissioners, who are likewise come, being the persons named in the inclosed note. Yesterday they delivered their letters, one from the Committee of Estates, the other from the Assembly of the Church; and gave in copies of their respective commissions and authorities, which are in their usual and accustomed language. At the delivery of them one of the Ministers made a long speech to the King, wherein there was nothing extraordinary, but the tone of the speaker and manner of the delivery, being such as our ears have not been accustomed to. Since his Majesty's arrival in this place, he hath received two letters from your Excellency, one of the second, the other of the 15th of *February* last: and I have received several letters from Mr. *Fanshaw*, which though of something an older date, give an exact and faithful account of the state of things in that Kingdom, and of the mutual jealousies between the English and Irish. There appears to me no imaginable way how his Majesty can make a diversion of the rebels forces from *Ireland*, but by a conjunction with the Scots. We have no foreign forces, nor money to raise them; and if we had, it will be difficult to get shipping to transport them, (since Prince *Rupert* with the King's Fleet is still at *Lisbon*, and not like to come into these seas) but especially, because the rebels are so strong both by sea and land, that it will be extremely difficult to make a descent in *England*. Besides an entire body of foreign forces, (though

B b 3

some

A.D. 1649 some foreign horse may be necessary) will be extremely disagreeable to the English. All the King's friends in *England* advise the King to agree with the Scots, and almost all other sober men are of the same opinion, because from *Scotland* an army may easily march into *England*, and are sure (if they come under the King's title) to find a considerable party to assist them. The only difficulty will be to moderate the Scots demands in the matter of the Covenant, that they do not rigidly insist upon it, so far as it hath relation to *England* and *Ireland*; the obligation thereof not being visible to be reconciled to that which his Majesty is already obliged to make good to the Irish nation, and from which I am confident he will never recede in the least degree. I the rather fear they will be rigorous in their demands, because the Rebels of *England* make them large offers to divert them from agreeing with the King, as 200,000 *l.* ready money, *Berwick* and *Carlisle* to be delivered to them, settling presbyterian Government, and defending with their Navy the Scots trade and commerce by sea, with other considerable advantages. These difficulties are in the way of our agreement. I beseech God to assist us in it, that we may use all necessary care and prudence to bring on a happy conclusion.

As I was a writing this letter, Mr. *Rochford* (who is at large mentioned in the former dispatch) came into my chamber, and informed me that he hath proposed to the King the engaging of the Fort of *Duncannon* for the raising of money, and saith he hath found persons that will furnish a considerable sum upon it. I can yet give no further account of this matter. I believe the money will be necessary, if it be rightly applied: and I know that my Lord of *Muskerry* hath an authority of this nature; but I know not how convenient it may

may be to engage this place, and shall endeavour ^{A.D. 1649} that no use be made of this to undermine your Excellency's authority, which I know to be the surest foundation of his Majesty's interests. I have not time to write more, but that I am and will continue with inviolable devotion and respect,

Your Excellency's, &c.

Breda, March 28,
1650.

ROBERT LONG.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

I Had the honour lately to receive the duplicate of ^{A.D. 1650} your Excellency's letter of last *January 25*, and have accordingly presented your Lordship's to his Majesty who is very sensible of the sad condition where-to you are reduced for your loyalty by the worst of rebels. His Majesty hath not only commanded me to satisfy part of that debt your Excellency mentions out of the first considerable sum he shall receive: but will write by the next express to Prince *Rupert* to take some course to pay it also. But I may not forbear to let your Lordship understand in truth, that his Majesty is in a very strange necessity; insomuch as if he had not by an accident met with an English merchant that lent him 200 *l.* he must in his journey hither have staid on the way after he came out of *France* for want of money, and he continues still so necessitous, as at the present he lives wholly at the charge of his sister here. There are (it's true) many solicitors in hand to negotiate for money in several places; but I have not yet seen any considerable fruit of their negotiations. From *Spain* we have nothing but words of compassion and hopes. From Prince *Rupert* there is an express newly come

A.D. 1650 that tells us he hath taken many prizes but cannot vend them. His fleet was, when the messenger came from *Lisbon*, ready to set sail towards the *Streights*; so as thence nothing (he says) can be expected; but my hope is that his Highness may send you some money for *Ireland*.

The duplicate of your letter to the King of last *December* 24, being written in my cypher, I received not till the 29th of *March* last, and herein you will receive his Majesty's order as you desired. I shall by other ways send a duplicate thereof and will keep a triplicate of it by me for your Excellency, that if the other fail, I may preserve one for you. The treaty here is newly begun. The Scots propositions are as high and unreasonable as ever, and such as if they shall not moderate them very much, I doubt there will be no happy agreement, though his Majesty and all about him have very good inclinations to make an agreement upon honourable terms. The King hath lately sworn of his Privy-Council here the Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Hamilton*, and the M. of *Newcastle*. The M. of *Montrose* arrived about a month since in *Orkney* for certain: what force he hath there is variously reported; but the King expects every day an express from him. You have there, I presume, more speedy and certain news from *England* than we have here. We rarely receive any advertisement from *Ireland* but what comes by the way of *England*, which is slow and very uncertain. I shall add no more to your Excellency's trouble at present, but that I am constantly and entirely, &c.

Breda, April 13 1650.

EDW. NICHOLAS.


As I was closing this, there came hither a letter from a good hand from *Morlais* in *France*, advertising that the Lieutenant Colonel and some other Officers

Officers and soldiers of the Irish regiment now in *A.D. 1650* *Scilly* had a conspiracy to have murdered Sir *John Grenville* his Majesty's Governor of that place, and to have seized it and delivered it to the rebels of *England* who had ships which lay hovering thereabouts at the time that this treachery was to have been executed; but it being two or three days before happily discovered, there have been five or six Officers and soldiers put to death for it by sentence of a Council of war; and all there is now (God be thanked) well settled. By this you see that it's not only the English that are friends to the rebels of *England*.

Order inclosed.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and entirely beloved Cousin and Councillor we greet you well. Considering the great streights and extremities you may be put unto as well by the prevalent power of the rebels, as through the distractions and disunion of our forces in that Kingdom, we have thought good by these our letters to require and command you, if neither the supplies of money, arms and munition which we have by several reiterated orders commanded to be sent you, shall arrive there so timely as to supply your wants, or that there shall be no considerable diversions in *England*, which is likewise our special care and endeavour to procure, that then if you shall be by necessity forced thereunto, you withdraw yourself and make your repair to us, laying as good a foundation as you can in so great an extremity for some new attempts hereafter in that our Kingdom, whensoever it shall please God to enable us to redeem our subjects there from the tyranny and usurpation they may for the present be compelled

A.D. 1650  pelled to comply withal. And as we leave it to your discretion, judgment and affection to us and the good of our affairs to take your own time when to withdraw yourself: so we will that you do not defer it so long as unnecessarily to hazard yourself, whose counsel and assistance in future service may be of so great importance for the recovery of that our Kingdom, when it shall please God better to enable us for it. And in your so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant.

Given at *Breda* the 12th day of *April*, in the second year of our reign 1650.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

I Herein send you a duplicate of his Majesty's and my former letters to your Lordship, which I hope will be with you before this. The inclosed from *Orkney* will shew you what advertisement is come lately from the M. of *Montrose*, who was safely arrived with his forces in *Scotland* before the messenger that brought this letter parted from *Orkney*. Your Excellency will do well to advertise my Lord *Montrose* of your present condition, and to correspond with him, if you are in any condition and have means to do it. But I must tell your Lordship, we here apprehend your Excellency is in a very weak and distracted condition, and I doubt his Majesty will not suddenly be able to help you. I cannot give you any particular account of the treaty here; the Lord *Hopton* and myself having been set aside as to that business ever since the first day that the debate thereof was entered upon at the Council-board; where we delivered our advice fully and clearly, that the King ought not to approve
or

or allow of the League and Covenant of any sort, *A.D. 1650*
either in *Scotland* or in any of his other Kingdoms, though he might give way to the national Covenant in *Scotland* only. Ever since that time the treaty hath been solely managed by the three new Councillors here mentioned in my former letter and Mr. Long, without calling either of us any more to it; because (as the Scots alledged) we argued at the Board in that business. But they will not say we are either of the M. of *Argyle's* or *Hamilton's* party: and if it be an offence to be zealous for the King's party, we are happy to be so excluded. I cannot send you a copy of the Scots propositions, they being indeed so unreasonable (to say no worse of them) as they are kept from being published. But to tell your Lordship my opinion upon the whole, I am very confident the King and these Scots cannot possibly agree on these propositions, unless their Commissioners have more power to recede from them than I ever knew given to any of their Commissioners. The King hath told me often and lately very resolutely, that he will never condescend to any thing prejudicial to the agreement your Excellency hath made with the Irish Catholicks, or to that Nation, and I am confident his Majesty will therein be very steady. The thing called a new Parliament in *Scotland* being shortly to begin, the power of these Commissioners (being derived only from a Committee of Estates) will cease, so as we shall within a few days see the issue of this treaty. I confess I have great apprehensions upon some observations of the late carriage of the Scots and of the proceedings in *England* that there is a perfect understanding between those now prevalent in *Scotland* and the bloody tyrants in *England*: God grant my jealousy may be vain. I hear there is a design in the now rulers about the King to get his Majesty to make me Ambassador in *Holland*, but I am meditating to retire;
I find

A.D. 1650 I find myself so much differing in opinion from the great managers of affairs now here, as I shall not be able to do his Majesty's service. We expect daily letters from Prince *Rupert*, but have not of late had any thing of certainty from him. There is here one *Fitzmaurice*, brother-in-law to one Major *Purcell*, that expresses himself to be no servant of your Excellency's, and if he were in any of his Majesty's Dominions he would receive the punishment he deserves; for his Majesty understands very well his malice to your Lordship. For the news from *France*, I have sent you an extract of what his Majesty's Resident there hath written to me concerning your noble and hopeful son the Lord *Ossory's* forwardness to vindicate the honour of our nation. God send your Excellency much comfort in all yours, and a happy issue out of your great distractions. So prays, &c.

Breda, May 12 1650.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Relation of the Battle between the Scots and Cromwell at Dunbar.

CADWELL a messenger of the army, who was upon the place relates, that on the 31st of *August* being Saturday he came into the *Frith* about two of the clock as high as *Muscleburgh*, when all the ships were hoisting sail (having taken in the sick men) to go to *Dunbar*, and my Lord was at *Preston-Pannes*, from whence he sent for the Packet-boat; but in the mean time, the enemy fell into *Preston-Pannes*, so as the messenger was fain to go back unto the Packet-boat. The same night the Lord General marched to *Haddington*, and quartered in that town the whole army, and the enemy drew down

down with 400 horse, with 400 musketeers behind them to give an alarm, their whole army lying within a mile of ours. A.D. 1650

On Sunday morning the Drums beat, and our army marched to *Dunbar*, the enemy with their whole army pressing close to the rear of ours within a mile, and sometimes within half a mile of ours. Their army consisted of eighteen regiments of foot, which together with horse made as (themselves say) 27000; our army being but 12000.

On that night our army marched to *Dunbar*, and the enemy following them close, drew up their whole army on a great and high hill within a mile of the town, our army standing in battalia in the town fields, between the Scottish army and the town ready to engage. Our train was then in the Church-yard, the Church standing at the town's end, being fifty yards from any house towards *Berwick*, but the same night the train was taken out of the Church-yard again and placed at a farm-house in the middle of the fields where the army lay.

Next morning being Monday, before sun rising the enemy drew down part of their army to the foot of the hill towards our army who had not a mile and a half from sea to sea: the Lord General, Major General *Lambert*, and Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, spent most of Monday in drawing our army (in the ground where they stood) in battalia.

About four in the afternoon the enemy drew down their train to that part of the body of horse and foot that was drawn down to the foot of the hill before, the enemy's horse being on both wings of their own foot feeding. There was between the two armies a great dike about 40 or 50 foot wide, and as deep as broad, with a little rundle of water running in the middle of it, but very good grass growing in each side of the dike; so that either army's marching over first was great disadvantage to them.

A.D. 1650 them. On the side of this bank was a poor house which stood in a shelving pass, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* and Col. *Pride* sent 24 foot and 6 horse to secure that pass, that the enemy should not come over to them.

The enemy about four of the clock drew down about two troops of Lanciers unto this pass, to beat off the said party; the six horse gave way, they killed three of the foot and took three, and wounded and drove away the rest, and so they gained the pass, yet nevertheless kept it not. One of the three soldiers that was taken by them had but one hand, yet discharged three times, and when he was brought unto General *David Lesley*, (old *Leven* being in the Castle of *Edinburgh* as they relate) he asked him if the enemy did intend to fight? he reply'd, what did he think they came there for? they came for nothing else. Soldier, says *Lesley*, how will you fight when you have shipped half of your men and all your great guns? The soldier reply'd, Sir, if you please to draw down your army to the foot of the hill, you shall find both men and great guns also: one standing by asked him how he durst answer the General so saucily? He told him that he only made answer to the question demanded him. The General presently called for a Trumpet and set the soldier free, who came to my Lord General *Cromwell* and told him all the discourse, and withal told him, that he had lost twenty shillings in this action, who gave him thereupon two pieces.

On the same day after four of the clock in the afternoon, our General with his Officers went and supped at *Dunbar* for refreshment; and presently after, before five of the clock, they took horse and went into the fields, and there called a Council of war, what the result was he knows not; but that night the army by order marched as close to the dike as possibly they could, placing two field pieces

in each regiment of foot, expecting that night the enemy would have fallen on. On Tuesday morning about four of the clock our army gave the enemy a strong alarm. A brigade of horse and foot consisting of Major General *Lambert's*, Colonel *Whaley's* and Colonel *Lilburne's* regiments of horse, and two of foot, drew down to a road way upon a pass to *Berwick*, and firing very hard upon one another, the dispute lasted an hour and was very hot, the great guns playing on both sides very fast on each other's main body; being moon light our foot and horse gaining of their ground, possessed themselves of the pass, which the enemy's horse perceiving, charged very resolutely, all their frontiers being armed with lances: our brigade of horse gave way a little, being charged by the enemy coming down the hill upon them, wherein Major *Lyster* was taken prisoner but was presently rescued; but our horse immediately rallying and the foot advancing, charged the enemy and put them to the run very suddenly, it being now near six of the clock in the morning. Which rout the enemy's foot seeing, threw down their arms immediately and fled, which the enemy's left wing of horse perceiving, fled also; the which our horse and foot discerning pursued even the whole army, and cut down and killed near four thousand, following them as far as *Haddington*, being about eight miles from the place, and *Hacker's* regiment pursued beyond *Haddington*, our General himself being also in the pursuit. Most of the enemy that were cut off and slain were stripped, serviceable arms of the enemy's were taken above 10000, with 180 foot colours. All their bag and baggage, ammunition, &c. was taken, with nine guns which were all they had: and the prisoners were judged about 10000. Prisoners of Quality brought in were Sir *James Lumsdell*, Lieutenant-General of the army, *David Lesley's* Lieutenant-Colonel: (who relates that

A.D. 1650 *David Lesley* was slain as he imagined) the Quarter Master General, the Adjutant General and divers Captains : some horse also were brought in. The enemy were esteemed near 9000 horse and dragoons.

David Lesley gave out on Monday night amongst their foldiers, that by seven of the clock on Tuesday they would have our army dead or alive ; and they had this defeat and rout before eight.

We lost none but at the dispute of the pass, which were esteemed to be about twenty ; many wounded : no Officers slain, only Major *Brown* was shot in the hand the day before a pikeering, and Colonel *Whaley's* horse was shot under him.

Daniel O Neile to the Marchioness of Ormonde.

Madam,

AFTER that to my extream grief I was by the persecution of the Bishops forced to leave my Lord Lieutenant, when he had most need of his friends, I came with Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, and the rest of those English that were with my Lord, to *Ireton*, who perswaded himself that I had something to propound to him from my Lord Lieutenant concerning his leaving the Irish, whom he believed were neither faithful to him nor long able to maintain a war. When he understood I had none, he seemed to be much troubled at it, both for his Lordship's and your Ladyship's sake ; especially yours, whose present condition he laboured to persuade me he much pitied. When I was with his Majesty in *Scotland*, after giving an account of the ill condition my Lord Lieutenant was in in *Ireland*, and the reasons why he was so, I made him a relation of my discourse with my Lord Deputy *Ireton*.
His

His Majesty told me, he would be very glad his tongue had spoke his heart, and that for his part he would send to my Lord freely leave to deal with the Parliament for his fortune, and protested to me his own concernment in that Kingdom did not more trouble him than his Lordship's. He made me long and obliging discourses of my Lord and all his enemies, and closed with assuring me, that it was not in the power of his mother, if she had attempted it, to give him the least ill impression of a man that he believed wedded his interest as a father and a friend. I must confess, Madam, such sense of my Lord's services, and so free an acknowledgment of them, moderated much of my griefs for my Lord's misfortunes; and so I hope they will of your Ladyship's, unto whom he commanded me to present his service, and to desire you to deal with the Parliament for your fortune. Madam, I dare not give you my advice upon this point, knowing how severe my Lord is to himself, and that no extremity will oblige him to do any thing that will reflect upon his loyalty or honour: but the condition I fear you are reduced to, and what I heard from his Majesty to secure my Lord's scruples and fears, persuades me, it were not ill done to try what could be done in *England* to save your fortune. The late defeat of the Scots so miraculously, and notwithstanding the barbarous usage of the King and his friends by the insolent Ministers, makes many faithful servants of his Majesty in these parts to think of reconciling themselves to the present government of their country: and I cannot believe their wants nor fortune are greater than your Ladyship's, nor their warrant so good for attempting.

At my being with *Ireton*, I made propositions to him for liberty to levy men for the King of *Spain* or the States of *Holland*. He granted leave to transport five thousand men for the King of *Spain*

A.D. 1650 or the States service: but denied for *France*. Upon my arrival here, I offered my service to the States who intend to make war in *Portugal*. Finding some difficulty in that, I made application to the Spanish Ambassador, from whom yet I have no answer. The apprehension I have that my Lord Lieutenant will not long stay in *Ireland*, makes me presume it will not be disadvantageous to him to own these levies, therefore I resolve to lose all the advantage of them and to propound them in his name. Some from *Brussels* discourage my design, because the Irish Clergy have made him black on this side; yet I am resolved not to serve where he may not find his advantage. I have writ to my Lord *Digby*, that if he can make the same conditions for my Lord, which were offered him by the Cardinal heretofore, that I will give over these levies for the Spaniard. Madam, if this way, or with the loss of my life, I may express my gratitude to my Lord, no man in the world could think himself happier than,

Madam, Yours, &c.

DANIEL O NEILE.

Abstract of my Propositions to the Spanish Ambassador.

I. **T**HAT I shall raise 3000 men at the rate of four pound a man, and deliver them to a Commissary of the King of *Spain's* at the sea side, who is to take the care and charge of transporting the men upon him.

II. That the said Commissary shall be obliged every time to bring him 500 men to receive them from me and embark them away, paying me upon the place for the number of men I still bring, who are

are from their embarkment to enter into the King's ^{A.D. 1650} pay.

III. That if his Majesty shall have need of any more foot and make any new levies the next year, he shall allow me levy money and ships for the raising and transporting 3000 men more to join with these; and yearly upon our coming out of the field, to give me allowance for 400 men to every regiment to recruit withal.

IV. That after fourteen days after their landing, my men shall be cloathed and armed by his Majesty.

V. That these 3000 men shall be divided into three compleat regiments of 1000 men apiece, none of which regiments are to be reduced, whilst they are 300 strong, nor none of the companies whilst they are 30.

VI. That I shall bring over besides these 3000 foot, 600 men to be composed into a regiment of horse, for mounting and arming of which I shall have allowed me within fourteen days after their arrival, 180 livres a man, and yearly upon our coming out of the field 300 pistoles apiece to every troop to recruit withal.

VII. That I shall yearly also have a very particular care taken of my men, in having a good garison and winter quarter assigned me for them.

VIII. That for my own particular I shall have the same * command over all the Irish in all his Majesty of *Spain's* dominions, that my Lord *Goring* had over the English, with all the appointments and † pensions that were granted him.

IX. That hereafter when my command shall fall void, as well as now at the first raising of my men, I shall have the nomination of all my Officers.

* Colonel General.

† His pension was 600 crowns a month.

A.D. 1650

X. That as long as any body of strangers shall be continued in his Majesty's service, either in *Flanders* or *Spain*, I shall not be cashiered; and whenever that shall happen, that it shall be thought fit to disband my men, I shall have my pension continued unto me during life, and my men have their arrears.

XI. That his Majesty of *Spain* shall intercede and do his utmost endeavour with the present Governors of *England* and *Ireland*, for the restoration and service of the estates and fortunes of all such of my nation, as shall come under my command to serve him.

Lastly, That he shall procure the renewing of my licence given me by *Ireton* for the transportation of the men, and obtain a passport and permission for myself and all such as I shall think fit to employ into *Ireland* to pass and repass through *England*; we engaging ourselves to act nothing to their prejudice, during our residence in any of their Dominions.

Daniel O Neile to the Marchioness of Ormonde.

Madam,

THE honour you did me of your letter of the 24th of *September*, I received the day after the last post went hence. This inclosed is an abstract of my last proposals to the Spanish Ambassador. My first were such as he would not treat upon; those he has brought to *Brussels*, and promised me the Archduke's answer within 14 days; which I doubt will not meet with my desires. For out of *Germany* there are such numbers of men offered, and all at so cheap rates, that they may have a reasonable army for the sum that must be given to raise and transport 3000 men out of *Ireland*. However (Madam) if either their interest or necessity draw them

to agree with me, my Lord-Lieutenant shall have ^{A.D. 1650} all the advantages of my conditions, as well of command as appointments, if he will make it his choice. Madam, this is all I can do, and the least he can expect from me, whom not only his favours but friendship has obliged to have no ambition so strong as his service, and especially now, when I know both his safety and your wants require it.

I have writ to my Lord *Taaffe* what I did here; what diffidence I have in the real dealing of the Spaniards; and that therefore my Lord *Digby* and he should not neglect what was offered my Lord-Lieutenant in *France*: for I would have him be secure of one side before he leaves *Ireland*. Not from my Lord *Digby*, but my Lord *Taaffe*. I have what was offer'd in *France*. I am confident your Ladyship had the same. I do not presume to give my opinion which is the best condition for his Lordship: that of *France* has the more glorious face, and some think this of *Spain* the more certain. I see you tied so to your obedience, that I dare not give you advice concerning your estate. Sure I am his Majesty would be infinitely satisfied you had your own, though with an agreement with the Parliament; and that what you do in order to it will never beget another thought in him, than what may suit with that which he commanded me to tell you and write to my Lord Lieutenant; which I have done to him at large by an express, just as I was leaving *Scotland*. Your apprehensions for my Lord are very just, unless that dispatch of his Majesty be come to him; which leaves him at liberty to quit his ill condition, when he think fit.

Yesternight Sir *Edward Walker* came hither: four days ago he left *Scotland*; he says that a great body of the Malignants and Ingagers to the number of ten thousand in the North of *Scotland* got together, and under the conduct of *Middleton* declared

A.D. 1650 for his Majesty. That secretly they sent for his Majesty; that he intended to go to them, but was betrayed by my Lord *Wilmot*, unto whom the matter was told in secrecy by my Lord Duke of *Buckingham*; that notwithstanding his Majesty got thirty miles on his way, when he was stopped by the intreaty of Col. *Montgomery* (my Lord of *Eglington's* son) who assured him, that the army at *Sterling* should be at his command totally; that not so much this, as his finding the other party short of his expectation, made him return to *Sterling* where he is now, in much more authority and esteem than hitherto; that he is this day crowned; that these two Scots armies are treating, and great hopes of their agreeing; which is that that doubtless will banish *Cromwell Scotland*. This is the sum of his news, and this is all we have to comfort us for the sad loss of the Prince of *Orange*, who died a Sunday last of the small-pox, more through the ignorance or malice of his Doctors, than the malignity of his sickness. Madam, I dare not give you my apprehensions upon this sad disaster: they are too melancholy for your condition. I only say, that the excellentest youth that I ever knew is lost, and that I think his Wife will soon follow, for she is within ten days of being brought to bed, and is so seized with grief, that no consideration can prevail with her to think of life.

Though her sorrows be immoderate; yet they are much to be pardoned, considering that she has not only lost a husband, but a passionate lover, and the kindest friend to her family that could be desired.

Madam, if hereafter you favour me with your letters, direct them hither to myself. I humbly beg your pardon for this long letter; hereafter they shall not take up so much of your time. I am,

Madam, yours, &c.

Hague, October 9, 1650:

DANIEL O NEILE.

*His Majesty's Conferences with Dr. King,
Dean of Tuam.*

MR. King, I have received a very good character of you, and do therefore give you assurance, that however I am forced by the necessity of my affairs to appear otherwise, yet that I am a true Child of the Church of *England*, and shall remain firm unto my first Principles. Mr. King, I am a true Cavalier. Here I fell upon my knees and said, God Almighty bless your Majesty, and continue you in that resolution, and make you a nursing Father to his Church. Then rising up, I said, Your Majesty now sees how inconsistent the Ecclesiastical Government here is with Monarchy. The Kirkmen twice imprisoned your Majesty's Grandfather, and compelled him to approve that Government : yet when God put power into his hands he restored Episcopacy. Then his Majesty said, Mr. King, the Scots have dealt very ill with me, very ill. I understand you are willing to go into *Ireland*. My Lord of *Ormonde* is a person that I depend upon more than any one living. I much fear that I have been forced to do some things, which may much prejudice him. You have heard how a declaration was extorted from me, and how I should have been dealt withal, if I had not signed it. Yet what concerns *Ireland* is no ways binding ; for I can do nothing in the affairs of that Kingdom, without the advice of my Council there : nor hath that Kingdom any dependence upon this ; so that what I have done is nothing, yet I fear it may prejudice my Lord of *Ormonde* and my friends with him, so that if you would satisfy him in this, you would do a very acceptable service unto me, and although I cannot for the present reward you,

A.D. 1650 yet if God shall be pleased to put power into my hands, I will remember it unto you. I have endeavoured to send to my Lord of *Ormonde* very often, yet do not find that he hath received any thing from me since the treaty. I have endeavoured to the utmost to preserve him and my friends there; but I have been ill dealt withal. The circumstances are too long to acquaint you with. *Robin Long* will inform you. My enemies may make a great advantage by it, to interrupt my affairs here, and to alien the Irish from me, although they intend to destroy them. For such of the Irish as have been loyal to me, I will (by God's help) whatever my Father or I have promised them, make good unto them: and if they could for a while keep on foot the business there, I doubt not but I shall shortly be able to put new life into it. I am resolved wholly to be governed in the affairs of that Kingdom by my Lord of *Ormonde*; and I will write a letter of credence by you. Remember me to my Lord of *Clanricarde*; he is a good man. Here his Majesty pausing, I said, From the beginning of the war, the Lord of *Clanricarde* hath with much integrity adhered unto and laboured to preserve your Majesty's interest in that Kingdom. His Majesty replied, It is their own interest as well as mine; for whatever the enemy make them believe, they are resolved to destroy them. Remember me to my Lord of *Inchiquin*, and to my Lord of *Ardes*. Here his Majesty stayed a while, and then said, Let me see, whom do I know in that Kingdom? Then I mentioned to his Majesty, the Lord Viscount *Dillon*. His Majesty said, I know him very well; remember me to him. I hear that he and his Family are great sufferers for me. I pray remember me to my Lord of *Castlehaven*. I know my Lord of *Muskery* too; remember me to him. Then his Majesty
stop-

stopping, I said, Sir *Richard Blake* hath been 'a ^{A.D. 1650} faithful servant of your Majesty. His Majesty returned, that is he who was Speaker : remember me to him and to all such as my Lord of *Ormonde* shall direct you. You will not find my Lord *Taafe* in the Kingdom.

This was upon a Monday at night about one of the clock, when his Majesty had watched all the Court and his own servants (Mr. *Seymour* and Mr. *Chiffins* excepted) asleep. Upon Tuesday (his Majesty's fasting day) about three of the clock in the afternoon, I was privately brought into the bed-chamber by Mr. *Seymour*, and there his Majesty spake to me thus.

Tell my Lord of *Ormonde*, I would by no means have him come here ; but if he come into *France* or *Holland*, he shall hear often from me. His Majesty here pausing, I said, I humbly offer it to your Majesty to write also to my Lord of *Clanricarde* ; for it is reported, that the Lord of *Ormonde* hath left the Kingdom. His Majesty replied, That needs not, for if he hath left the Kingdom, he hath left my Lord of *Clanricarde* his Deputy, and your letter to the Lord of *Ormonde* will serve the turn to him, and what I direct you to speak to my Lord of *Ormonde* say to him. *Robin Long* will declare to you at large what I have been forced to do concerning *Ireland* : and if I be not rightly understood, it may much prejudice my affairs. I resolve when God shall put power into my hands, I will break in nothing with my good Subjects of *Ireland*. Remember me to my Lords of *Ormonde*, *Clanricarde*, *Inchiquin*, *Castlehaven*, *Dillon*, *Muskery*, and *Ardes* : and tell them, I prefer their particular safeties to any interest of my own in that Kingdom, and that I account it not only an error, but a misfortune, that I came not thither, when my Lord of *Ormonde* invited me,

A.D. 1650 The day following I left the Court (*St. Johnston's*) and came to *St. Andrews* where Secretary *Long* lay ; who told me, he would dispatch me by Friday evening. Upon Saturday morning I came to him, and he delivered me two packets ; the one was Mr. *Weston's* dispatch ; the other by the hand I knew to be from my Lord of *Derry*. He bid me, in case I could not safely carry them, to destroy them, and only carry my letter of credence. I told Mr. Secretary, that his Majesty had referred me to him for the relation of the force put upon his Majesty concerning the breach of the peace made by my Lord of *Ormonde* with the Irish. Then Mr. Secretary replied, and gave the relation annexed. Adding, that Mr. *Weston* in his excuse alledged, that he was not permitted by the Scots, and made other frivolous excuses for his return, though his Majesty did more than apprehend it a practice between him and *L. W.* and the Scots ; at which he was exceedingly troubled. Mr. Secretary also added, that his Majesty had endeavoured by all means possible unto human wisdom to secure your Lordship and his friends in *Ireland*, by timely informing your Lordship with his proceedings in that treaty, in order unto the affairs of *Ireland* : but that the negligence and treachery of those employed by him had hindered. Here again the Secretary charged *L. W.* and said, that he had lately seen some papers of his Majesty's, copied and given unto the Scots, which must needs be done by *L. W.* or *D. B.* The Secretary concluded with high and significant expressions and professions of affection to your Lordship ; and that he desired nothing more than your Lordship's preservation ; that he much feared the prejudice and danger that this declaration might bring upon your Lordship from the Irish ; that he would have your Lordship preserve yourself for the resettling of *Ireland* and his Majesty's authority

authority there ; that it was a work he hoped by God ordained for your Lordship's prudent conduct, and that he himself should be in it instrumental : and further desired, in case your Lordship conceived the preservation of the peace with the Irish necessary and conducing unto his Majesty's service, that Commissioners might be sent to offer that into Scotland.


JONH KING, *Decanus Tuamensis.*

Dean King's relation of the King's Condition in Scotland, given to the M. of Ormonde at Ennys, October 15, 1650.


My LORD,

I Was commanded by his Majesty to receive from Secretary Long the relation of the force put upon his Majesty in the breach of the peace made by your Lordship with the Irish ; that in case I could not with safety bring the larger dispatches unto your Lordship, I should secure his Majesty's letter of credence unto your Lordship, and report unto you what the Secretary in that should deliver unto me. Accordingly I left his Majesty's Court (*St. Johnston's*) and came unto *St. Andrews*, (the Secretary's residence) where having made known unto him his Majesty's pleasure upon Saturday August 25. he gave me this relation.

In the treaty at *Breda* for the third article in the agreement between his Majesty and the Scots, the Scots with much violence insisted upon the breach of the peace made by my Lord of *Ormonde* with the Irish ; which his Majesty by no means would yield unto ; insomuch that the treaty for three days was intermitted, and had like upon that occasion quite to have broken off. But the necessity of his Majesty's affairs so requiring, to continue

A.D. 1650  continue and perfect the treaty, the King yielded thus far, that if a free Parliament in the Kingdom of *Scotland* should so think fitting, his Majesty then would find some way how with honour and justice he might make void that peace, in regard that the greatest part of the Irish had not with faithfulness adhered unto his Lieutenant the Lord of *Ormonde*; but had broken on their side. In the mean time his Majesty would by no means permit, that any such thing should be inserted into the body of the articles of agreement: and it was concluded, that that business should remain in a distinct paper in the Earl of *Cassell*'s hands, in regard of the dishonour it might bring upon his Majesty, and the danger and prejudice it might bring upon my Lord of *Ormonde* and his Majesty's friends in *Ireland*. No sooner was this done, but his Majesty laboured to inform my Lord of *Ormonde* of what had passed, and immediately Mr. *Richard Weston* the 16th of *May* last was dispatched from *Breda*; 150 *l.* given him to defray his charges. But when his Majesty came into *Scotland*, he found him there; at which his Majesty was exceedingly troubled.

After his Majesty had put to sea and was as high as the coast of *Denmark*, the Scotch Commissioners shewed unto his Majesty new and higher propositions, upon the defeat of the Lord of *Montrose*, from the Kingdom of *Scotland*. So that unless his Majesty would immediately take the Covenant, and *interminis* break the peace made with the Irish, his Majesty was not to be received into *Scotland*: by which heightning of propositions his Majesty was so disgusted, that he resolved to have landed in *Denmark*, and to lay aside all thoughts of coming into *Scotland* upon such terms. But overcome with the intreaties of his servants who lay before him the present sad condition of his affairs, he yielded *interminis* unto the breach of the peace with the Irish, conditionally that it should

not be published until his Majesty had acquainted *A.D. 1650*
the Lord of *Ormonde* and his friends in *Ireland* 
with it, secured them, and from them been instructed how with honour and justice he might break it, in regard of the breach on their part, and the disobedience (especially of the *Ulster* army) unto his Lieutenant.

When his Majesty was now come into *Scotland*, and been there some time, and *Cromwell* with a potent army had advanced into the bowels of the Kingdom, a Declaration was by the Commissioners of the Kirk and Estates with all earnestness and violence pressed upon his Majesty to be signed by him; which for three days he resolutely refused; at length finding that not only his liberty but his life lay at stake, and that he could not upon any other terms engage the Scots upon the enemy, (with whom they had frequent treaties, and an agreement was feared) his Majesty with unspeakable dissatisfaction and regret signed the Declaration.

This is that which the Secretary delivered unto me to report unto your Lordship; and I do humbly desire a transcript of it under your Lordship's Secretary's hand, that I may give an account thereof unto his Majesty who sent me; assuring your Lordship that I have not failed in any thing material, and very little or nothing varied from Secretary *Long*'s own words. In confidence whereof I do my Lord hereunto subscribe.

Ennys, October 15,
1650.

JOHN KING.

The King to the M. Ormonde, sent by Dean King.

MY Lord of *Ormonde*, I have sent this bearer
Dr. *King* expressly to acquaint you with my
con-

A.D. 1650 condition here. I desire you to believe him in what he shall say to you from me. I have commanded *Robin Long* to send you a particular account of what I have done concerning *Ireland*. I have received your letter by *Daniel O Neile*, and he hath given me a full account of that Kingdom and your condition there; which I find to be so ill, that I give you free leave to come from thence when you shall think it fit. For the way of it, I desire you to use the safest. I believe this bearer will tell you, that this country will not bid you welcome; for indeed they are not so kind to you as I could wish. Therefore I think *France* or *Holland* will be the fittest place for the present: but I shall leave that to your choice. I will only add this, that you have a care of yourself; which will be the greatest service you can do to

Your most affectionate friend,

St. Johnston's, Aug. 19,
1650.

CHARLES R.

Pray dispatch this bearer again as soon as you can, that I may know the condition of that Kingdom.

The M. of Ormonde's Answer to the King.

May it please your Majesty,

THE bearer *Dean King* brought me your Majesty's of *August 19.* on the *13th of October* last; and hath now undertaken through much hazard to give your Majesty an account of the state of things here: to whose relation your Majesty is most humbly referred by,

Your Majesty's, &c.

ORMONDE.
Instruc-

Instructions for Mr. John King Dean of Tuam.

I. **Y**OU are to deliver my letter of credence to his Majesty.

II. You are to give his Majesty a particular account of the proceedings betwixt the Clergy here, the Commissioners of trust, and myself: which that you may the better do, you are to read and take notes out of my answer to their declaration, and other things passed from them. A.D. 1650

III. In case this assembly shall vindicate and secure his Majesty's authority from the past and future attempts of the Clergy, I shall depute the M. of *Clanricarde* as Governor of the Kingdom; in hope that by so doing the English Rebels will be kept in action here: and that in case I can be furnished with men and other necessaries for war to return with, I may find footing here.

IV. You are to let his Majesty know, that his commands will find me in *France*, if it please God to send me safe thither: and you are humbly to beseech his Majesty that they may be hastened to me; my condition being such, that if I may not be serviceable to him, I must engage in the service of some foreign Prince for my subsistence; or that failing, I must send my wife to compound with the Rebels for that part of my estate which she brought me. Which I could have done here, but that I resolve to have nothing to do with them, as long as there is a possibility I may serve his Majesty against them, or till all other ways of getting bread for my family shall fail me.

V. You are to let his Majesty know, that if there be shipping, victual and some money, to transport men, I can have as many as his Majesty shall think fit to command out of this Kingdom, any time before the spring.

Sir

A.D. 1650



Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

My most honoured Lord,

YOUR favour of the 9th of this month from *Caen* surprized me with more joy than I have had since these unhappy times. My trust is, that God having seen with what integrity and constancy you have struggled in this righteous cause, and having delivered you from the power and malice of an unworthy and infatuated people, hath preserved you to have the honour by your prudent and unbiaſſed Counſels, to be a means yet to reſtore our Maſter to his Crowns and juſt right. I hear your Excellency will be at *Paris*, whither Mr. *Henry Seymour* being newly gone, you will by him have a full and perfect relation of his Maſteſty's preſent condition, and of the ſtate of his affairs in *Scotland*; which (I may ſay with freedom to your Lordſhip) to me ſeems to be in no ſuch proſperity as (I hear) it is at the *Louvre* cried up. For firſt, for his Maſteſty's Perſon, all his ſervants, (even thoſe of his bed-chamber) of whom he was and had reaſon to be moſt confident, are forced from him, and ſtrangers, whoſe names he never heard of, but for their notorious crimes againſt his bleſſed Father, placed in their room. Then for his affairs in *Scotland*; when I conſider that infamous Declaration which they compelled the King to publiſh, and are ſtill ſo reſolved to have his Maſteſty make good, (though not only all the King's party, but even all ſtrangers that have any ſenſe of honour or conſcience declaim againſt it) as that they ceaſe not to perſecute with exile all that ſpeak againſt it, and honeſt Mr. *Seymour* and others for having diſſuaded the King from doing ſit, I cannot ſo much as hope that thoſe men (and the ſame do ſtill govern there in chief) can intend any good

or

or safety to his Majesty, whom they have so wickedly and notoriously abused and defamed. Nor can I bring myself to conceive so meanly of the providence of those crafty Scots, as to believe they will ever permit an army to be raised that they shall not be able to guide and govern as they please. They are doubtless so conscious of their guilt to the King and his blessed Father, as they will rather deliver up his Majesty's Person to *Cromwell*, and trust him and his masters, (being as guilty as themselves) with their lives and fortunes, than ever suffer or abide any power (not absolutely of their opinion and faction) to grow up to the hazard of their safety. So as upon the whole matter I conceive, his Majesty cannot (by less than a miracle) either prosper or be safe in the hands and power he now is. But this my unskilful judgment is so repugnant to the wisdom of the Council of the *Louvre* (by whose compass only his Majesty hath steered the course he hath taken, ever since I had the honour to be near him) as you will find such discourses as these to be there accounted ridiculous.

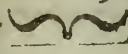
Besides this, the Scots refusing to receive any foreign aid from any parts whatsoever, and disclaiming against any party that shall offer to rise for the King in *England*, I would gladly know, how it will be possible for the King ever to recover by their means his Crown of *England*; for no understanding man that knows the present forces in *England* and *Scotland* will (I conceive) be persuaded that *Scotland* alone can master *England*. I shall now say no more on this subject, because I suppose you will be there more exactly informed of all particulars by Mr. *Seymour*.

I have delivered your Lordship's letters to my Lord *Byron*, the Bishop of *Derry*, and Mr. *Fanshawe*, who will be dispatched for *Scotland* this week, as I am told. Sir *Lewis Dives* (I hear) is gone with

A.D. 1650 the Lord *Jermyn* for *France*. The Duke of *York* prepares to return for *France*, as soon as he hears from the Queen: which he expects to do this next month by Mr. *Seymour*, by whom you will fully understand what concerns the Duke of *York*. I hear the States here will shortly adjourn their present general Assembly, being desirous to take more time to consider and consult with their several Provinces and Towns respectively apart, before they resolve on any of the great businesses they have now in agitation before them, as well in relation to *England*, as to the union and government of their own dominions. I believe they have at present very great apprehensions; for they have from *England* intelligence, that the rebels there insist, to have satisfaction from them for the *Amboyna* business, to have a tribute for their fishing on the British Ocean, and to be by them acknowledged to have the sovereignty of that sea; to be not only acknowledged a Commonwealth, but to have them to yield them precedency, though these were rebels before them; to have satisfaction for the interest of the money lent them by the Crown of *England*, or to have *Vulishing* and the other Cautionary Towns put into their hands; that not only their Ambassadors may be here received, but that they may have place in their Counsels as in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*; that notwithstanding these States have farmed the toll of the Sound of the King of *Denmark*, whereby there is a further charge and burthen imposed on the English trading in those seas, that these States shall permit the English to trade thither at the same rates as formerly. These high demands have so frightened these *Hogan Mogans* as they begin to repent, that they had not more timely prevented these dangers by giving the King of *England* a seasonable and effectual assistance, whereby he might have recovered his Crown and right. It's said the funeral of the Prince of *Orange* will be about the 20th of the next month. If

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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If I may be capable to serve your Lordship in *A.D. 1650*
any fort in these parts, I pray honour with your 
commands,

My Lord, &c.

Hague, Jan. $\frac{15}{2}$, 1650.

CHA. LEDISON.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

I Have received the honour of your Lordship's of the 12th present, and am very sorry for your indisposition of health, which I conceive may proceed from the hardnesse your Lordship hath endured in your painful and sollicitous endeavours for his Majesty's service in *Ireland*; and I earnestly beg of you that you will be pleased therein, as you pass through *Rouen*, to take the advice of Dr. *Winston*, who is a singular good Physician, a right honest man, and very much your Excellency's servant. I did hope to have received from your Lordship the relation of yours actions the last week, which if I had, I could have sent the same by Mr. *Fanshawe* to the King, he having set sail but Monday last from the *Brill*. I do not yet hear that the Lord *Inchiquin* is come into these countries; and methinks Mr. *Seymour* cannot be well dispatched hither for the Duke of *York* until the affairs in *France* are better composed and quieted.

I am willing to hope the condition of the King's affairs in *Scotland* is better than it was, by the present conjunction of the people there; which doubtless gives in foreign parts a better reputation to his Majesty's business than it had of late: but when I call to mind what Egyptian reeds the Scots have proved to his Majesty and his Father, whensoever they have

A.D. 1650 been leaned on, and what an irreconcilable feud there is between *Hamilton* and *Argyle*, and what cause the latter hath to be jealous of the other's getting into power either in Court or Camp, I must confess I very much apprehend, that there will be some treachery plaid the King, which will now be no difficult matter to effect, so many of the King's faithful servants being removed from him, and all that for the most part attend his Majesty being either creatures of *Argyle*, or at his devotion.

As concerning the domestick divisions that are among the small company that is of the Royal party, I conceive that he is most unworthy the name of an honest man, that will not contribute all his endeavours to effect a perfect reconciliation, and that will not sacrifice all his passions and interests to the good of such a work. But for all that, burnt children will still dread the fire. M. *Joachim*, albeit he had his credentials (directed *Au Parlement de la Republique d'Angleterre*) ever since the first of this month, yet he is still here, partly (as I hear) staying till M. *de Bellievre* shall arrive from *France*, whereby to know what he will propose, but chiefly to see what may be the King's success in *Scotland* upon the late conjunction. It's here reported by some who came on Friday last from *England*, that *Pendennis-Castle* is now for the King: some say it was surprized from *Scilly*, others that it's declared of itself for the King; but I wish either were true, though I conceive it be yet somewhat of the earliest to appear for his Majesty in *England*, his army in *Scotland* being not yet fully raised.

I assure your Excellency, if I understand any thing, the Duke of *York* hath as perfect and entire obedience for the King as his Majesty can desire; but indeed his Highness hath very little kindness for Lord *Fermyn*. I know not how it comes to pass, but (I may tell your Lordship) I observe that there

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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are strange domestick divisions in all the families, *A.D. 1650*
not only of the King, but of the Queen and all
her Children that have families. I am by intelligent
persons told that Duke *Hamilton* shall be Master of
the King's horse, and Lord *Fermyn* Secretary of
State: but this is told me in secret, it may be your
Excellency may know more of the truth of it at the
Lowre. I wish I were capable to serve your Lord-
ship answerable to the humble and sincere affecti-
ons of, &c.


Hague, Feb. $\frac{1}{2}$, 1650.

JO. WILCOCKS.

The M. of Ormonde to Sir E. Nicholas.

S I R,

YOUR letter of the 22d of *January*, besides
the most obliging congratulation of my safety,
carries with it so free a declaration of your sense,
and so noble an evidence of your constancy to your
first principles, that I collect from it with much
satisfaction, that I continue still in your good esteem,
notwithstanding the unusefulness of my labours to
the same end you prosecute: I have delay'd to give
you a particular account of the violence by which I
was forced from further contending against the re-
bels in *Ireland*, in daily expectation of my Lord of
Inchiquin's going, from whom you will very short-
ly receive a clearer information therein, and in
what state that unhappy Kingdom is left; and that
with more clearness and ease than I can give it
you. Though it be very true, that his Majesty's
condition must be to himself most irksome, and to
his servants that have endeavoured to serve his hap-
py Father and Himself in their own method most
uncomfortable, yet by what Mr. *Seymour* relates, and
which seems confirmed by the *London* prints, it may
be truly said to be in some degree amended by his

A.D. 1650  Coronation and the conjunction of that people, which as it gives some foreign reputation to his business, so it promises more of resistance against the rebels, than when they were divided; and consequently may more probably afford an opportunity to others of better inclinations to shew themselves; and the same God who, contrary to, and beyond the original intention of the English rebels, hath permitted them to perpetrate so unexampled villanies against the Royal Family and freedom of *England*, may contrary to and beyond the purpose of the Scots (who gave the rise to the perpetration) make them instrumental in the restoration I hope He purposes to the King's just power and his People's free claim. That which most staggers my faith in this is, the domestick division in so little a company as those are that profess to serve him; yet even that is not without apparent remedy, if men may be persuaded to pursue but their own interest with the calmness besitting rational persons; and to such a reconciliation it shall be my most industrious labours to dispose all that have confidence in my friendship.

Mr. *Seymour* will shortly give you an account of the success of his employment, which is not so compleat as were to be desired; but that in a great measure may be imputed to the present disorder in this State, which is such that it is not known to whom any application should be made for the Duke of *York*'s reception. In what condition I am to serve his Majesty and the Duke, (as Mr. *Seymour* tells me is by both desired) he will freely tell you when he sees you: In the mean time I may assure you, that whatever you have writ or shall write to me, shall be ordered as you prescribe, and that I am

Lezvre, Feb. 12,
1650.

Your most affectionate Servant,

ORMONDE.

Sir,

Sir, if a fit of sickness had not taken me last week, *A.D. 1650*
 you had had this letter; and but for the dregs
 of that indisposition I should now be larger.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

My most honoured Lord,

NOT knowing whether your Excellency be
 still at *Paris*, I have sent this by that way to
 acquaint you that there are newly arrived here several
 persons from *Scotland* who came thence Friday
 last; Capt. *Titus* being sent by the King to the
 Queen. What they report your Lordship will find
 in the inclosed. I should be glad to know whether
 you have any of my cyphers by you that I might
 make use of them. Col. *Blague* is in his way from
Scotland, being dispatched (as these say) two days
 from Court before they came thence. He brings
 (I hear) many letters from several persons. If I
 shall have any thing by him worthy your trouble, I
 shall acquaint your Lordship with it, and wish that
 your Lordship would make use of the cypher I
 have with your noble Lady, which is much better
 than that you were pleased to send me out of *Ire-*
land. These States have dispatched M. *Joachim*
 for *England* with Credentials directed *Au Parlement*
de la Republique d'Angleterre: but upon some inti-
 mation from their Agent now in *England*, certify-
 ing the King's good condition and the great distrac-
 tions among the rebels, they have caused *Joachim* to
 demur a little. In my judgment the rebels in *Eng-*
land are not founding their Commonwealth, as if
 they intended it should subsist long: but what will
 come in the place of it God knows. The Duke of
York expects here his Mother the Queen's direc-

A.D. 1650 tions, where he shall remain and what he shall d
 I am confident the Queen will tell your Excellency more news from *Scotland*, than is here known to any of us. I shall be glad to receive your Lordship's commands in any thing, wherein I may be able to express myself, &c.

Hague, Febr. $\frac{15}{25}$, 1652.

CHA. LEDISON.

I have been this day told by an intelligent Person, that the rebels in *England* have offered to put *Ireland* into the King of *Spain's* possession, and to confer the dominion thereof on him and his heirs; on condition that he will assist and establish them in their Republick of *England*, and be obliged on all occasions to help them. I know not what credit is to be given to this intelligence: but it comes from an able man in these parts, as I am told. Your Lordship may there peradventure hear more of it, if it be true.

Papers inclosed.

Feb. $\frac{15}{25}$, 1652.

CAPTAIN *Titus*, Col. *Bampfild*, Mr. *Mason*, (the Lord *Percy's* servant) and others, are newly arrived from *Scotland*; they came from the Court on Thursday and set sail Friday last.

Capt. *Titus* is sent by Marquess *Argyle* to the Queen, and hath letters to invite the Lord *Fermyn* over, and also the Lord *Culpepper*.

They say all English that will now go into *Scotland* shall be welcome, and much made of.

That the list of the army raising amounts to 35,000 men, and it's verily believed it will not be less than 25,000 good men.

All

All the regiments will be personally commanded ^{A.D 1650} by the best of the Nobility in *Scotland*.

The Earl of *Crauford* hath already under command a regiment of 1500 foot; the Earl of *Kelly* another of the same number; both which regiments have been raised in *Fife*; the Earl of *Atbol* hath already 1000 *Atbol* men, which are as good foot as are in the world.

There is a very good train of 16 guns prepared.

The King intends to command as Generalissimo in his own Person.

There is yet no Lieutenant-General appointed, but *David Lesley* (being General of the horse) commands (yet) as Lieutenant-General of the whole army; *Middleton* is by *David Lesley's* means made Lieutenant-General of the horse; some speech there is that the Earl of *Lothian* (*Carr*) shall be Lieutenant-General of the army.

Col. *Massey* hath a good body of horse, which is to be made 800 horse, consisting most of English and other strangers.

There come now over from *Cromwell* daily both horse and foot, by ten in a company; and many inferior officers with them.

Marquess *Argyle* will not permit Duke *Hamilton* to have any power or command at all; but hath a principal care to keep him under; so as his Grace meddles with nothing; but having done his penance is absolved and sits still.

The Scots have lately taken two ships of about 350 tuns apiece, intended for *Cromwell's* supply; the one was laden with ten thousand pair of boots and shoes, and with a proportion of bread for *Cromwell's* army for four months; the other with great quantity of butter, cheese, sack, and other good provisions.

Perth, Jan. 20, 1650, O. S.

A.D. 1650

All things now go on very cordially and unanimously for his Majesty's interest; so that within a month we doubt not but once more to have twenty thousand men in the field, and those of other manner of spirits and loyalty than the last army which was overthrown. All without exception are to bring what they can into the field. The Marquess of *Huntley's* and *Middleton's* excommunications are taken off, and they are admitted to command.

The Kirk (who govern all) are now as violent for the King and his interest, as ever they were against both, they having excommunicated those that are gone into *Cromwell*: and have set forth a Decree, That no man shall presume to pray or preach against the present resolutions and proceedings of his Majesty and the Parliament under pain of being censured by them; that there shall be no such word heard more as a malignant.

Sir *Alexander Hope* (whom his Majesty at the solicitation of some of his friends, hath made him Gentleman-Usher of his Privy-Chamber and Master Falconer in this Country) came within these two days and made his addressees to the King, to let him know there were two brothers of his (both Lords of the Sessions) that were very much his Majesty's humble servants, that were troubled in conscience to see him take those ways he now was in, and foreseeing his destruction if he persisted in them, they were restless till they sent his Majesty their humble advice, which was, that he should speedily treat with *Cromwell*, quit his interest in *England* and *Ireland*, give Cautionary Towns for the performing of the articles, and content himself with this country, till he had a better opportunity and means to recover the rest. To which his Majesty resolutely and discreetly answered, That he
would

would see both him and his brothers hanged at one end of the rope, and *Cromwell* at the other, before he would do any such thing: and went instantly and complained of it to the Committee of Estates, who presently confined him to his lodging, and sent to examine him and his two brethren; but what they will do with them is not yet known. By this you may see by what rulers we were governed when first we came hither, and with what strange difficulties this poor King hath struggled: but now I hope the worst is past; for so great a change as is now here could never be hoped nor expected.

The King was crowned the first of *January*: the Crown was put on his head by the Marquess of *Argyle*. The ceremony was performed with great acclamations and expressions of joy, and as much solemnity as this time and place could admit of.

Cromwell lies yet still, the weather neither permitting him nor us to put ourselves into action: he contents himself for the present with *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, which castle was basely betrayed to him by *Dundas* the Governor.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

THE present troubles in *France*, and the unsettledness of the Government there upon this late great alteration, hath deferred the Duke of *York's* journey thither, till the Queen shall have prepared the way for him: and these countries, especially this place, will be as unfit for his residence as any other, when the Embassadors expected shortly from *England* shall arrive. All that I know or can learn by Mr. *Seymour* concerning my attendance on the Duke of *York* and your Excellency in *France*

A.D. 1650 is expressed in the King's instructions to him; which says, that I should be encouraged to go into *France*. What that encouragement shall be, I yet understand not; but how unacceptable I am to some at the *Louvre*, I am sure your Lordship hath heard. If it be still held a fault, that I will not break my promise and faith to those that trusted me with as much as their lives and fortunes, I am certainly very unfit to be under such a regimen or counsel. I had much rather suffer as a Dove, than prevail as a Serpent, and am so far in love with plain dealing, as I shall never envy any who gains by subtilty. Until the King's affairs on this side shall be managed by a formed and sworn Counsel composed of loyal and unbiaſſed persons who will trust each other and will be trusted by the Royal party, I cannot expect any prosperity in his affairs or enterprizes: but for his Majesty to put himself solely into the hands of those whose counsels and conduct have been so apparently unfortunate to his blessed Father and Himself, is a prudence and policy that I cannot fathom.

Mr. *Fanshaw* set sail from the *Brill* on Monday was sevensnight with a fair wind which held four or five days; so as it's believed he was with the King some days since, and it's hoped will be back by Easter: by him we shall, I believe, have more certain measures how to judge of the King's condition and affairs in *Scotland*, which I have some reason to doubt are not in so prosperous a state as some relate them. Mr. *Rainsford* and Mr. *Cooley* (who came last from *Scotland* and are newly gone for *France*) say no more of the levies and union in *Scotland*, than those did whose relations, or rather reports, I formerly sent your Excellency. The Funeral of the Prince of *Orange* is to be Tuesday next, and the King hath sent a letter to the Lord *Percy* to represent his Person in that sad solemnity; which is here
by

by all knowing men thought very strange, it being ^{A.D. 1650} never known that a Sovereign King did ever attend the corpse of any King that was not his Father. But for his Majesty to attend on the body of a petty Prince not of Royal Blood, is held a great diminution of Regality; and if the D. of *York* was not thought fit to attend at the Christening of a living Prince of the Blood Royal, much less ought the King's Person be represented at this funeral: but it's believed the Lord *Percy* got this done, that he might have the honour to represent his Majesty's Person at so great and solemn a meeting; but I hope he shall be persuaded to lay it aside and not put it in execution.

The Duke of *York* intends this week to send another express into *Scotland* to the King, to acquaint his Majesty with the reason of his stay here, and with his resolution to go into *France*, as soon as the Queen shall send him notice that it's fit for him so to do. I presume your Excellency is not unacquainted how the Queen hath very much disobliged all the imprisoned Princes by her frequent and importunate solicitations of the Duke of *Orleans* not to insist so much for their release; which I doubt will be remembered to her Majesty's disadvantage. But I am credibly assured that the Prince of *Condé* hath much kindness for the King and the Duke of *York*, but very little for the Queen, and none at all for Lord *Fermyn*, who (I am told) is become now very contemptible in the Parliament. I have so tired your Lordship, as I shall spare my noble Lady the trouble of my letters this week: if your Excellency please to give me leave herein to present my humbleduty to her as to your Lordship, being, &c.

Hague, March 1, 165^a.

CHA. LEDISON.

I pray

I pray be pleased to decypher this yourself.

My Lord,

March $\frac{5}{15}$ 165 $\frac{0}{1}$.

A.D. 1650

THERE are lately several expresse come secretly to the Lord *Hopton* and Secretary *Nicholas* from divers persons of eminent loyalty and abilities of *England*, acquainting us, that they are ready to seize and possess themselves of several ports and places of strength and importance there for the King's service, if they should receive directions at what time to do it from the King or any of his Council in whom they dare confide: but they will by no means that any at *Paris*, or that Lord *Colepepper* or Mr. *Long* be acquainted with any of their designs. These men also desire Commissions for some persons whom they dare trust to be Governors of such places as they shall seize. There are others who offer to seize the Council of State at *London*, if they may have encouragement and some reasonable demands promised them; whereof none here that they confide in can satisfy them, and they will not by any means have to do with any person belonging to the *Louvre* Councils. The reasons of their averfeness and distrust of those at *Paris* are, that they observe and so have done long, that very few of those who have in these false times been most loyal and faithful to the last and to this King are regarded by the *Louvre*, and that some others who have been branded are (as they say) still valued and trusted by them in the greatest business; that the *Louvre's* management of affairs hath been not only very unfortunate, but ever so unsecret, that all they design to act is carried to the rebels of *England*, as soon as proposed to them. My Lord *Hopton* finding himself neglected and unacceptable is partly upon discontent and partly to live cheaper retired to *Wesel*. I beseech your Lordship to keep this to yourself, and to vouchsafe me your Excellency's advice herein.

Sir

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

I Have by the Lord *Inchiquin* received your Lordship's of *February* 16, whereby I understand your Lordship's intention to return to *Caen*. The unsettled condition of affairs in *France* may (I believe) keep the Duke of *York* here longer than he expected, or now desires, being most willing to comply in all things with the King his brother's directions, and to that end he intends to write to the Queen to hasten his return for *France*; but without a supply of money he is not able to stir hence, having (as he told me yesterday) not a shilling left of what he hath had since he came hither. A.D. 1650

I have it from a good hand that the Duke of *Lorraine* pretends to do great matters in *Ireland* for the Papists there, for which service he hopes the Pope will legitimate his two children by his second wife: but thereof, I presume, Lord *Taafe* will advertise your Excellency more particularly than I can.

I have herein sent you an extract of a letter from a very able and judicious person, which I pray be pleased to decypher yourself, and when you have read it to burn it. I assure you, I have others of the same kind from no ill hands, but this is from one that I know to be most impartial. As for myself, I easily acknowledge that I am not wise enough to foresee what card shall be turned trump; but I dare boldly say, that be it what it can be in the whole pack, the *Louvre* shall never have a saving game in the end; but this I say only to yourself, and I am not single in this opinion.

The King's affairs in *Scotland* and elsewhere are now very near a great crisis, God prosper him and all

A.D. 1650 all his enterprizes. M. *Joachim* is still here, and some say he goes not till the Embassadors arrive from *England*: but most true it is, that these States are desirous first (at least) to speak with M. *de Bellevre*, and, if it may be, the success of his Majesty's affairs in *Scotland*. I fear the peace in *Germany* is still much unsettled, especially since the Pope and the King of *Spain* have severally declared against it. I hear that the Council of State (without the privacy of the thing called a Parliament in *England*) have sent to press 5000 men in *Wales*, whom they intend by force to send over into *Ireland*; which I believe and suppose will work a general discontent in *England*, where I am told there begin to be among the *Grandees* high emulations already. I presume your Excellency knows that the Prince of *Condé* did not in almost a fortnight after he came to *Paris* visit the Queen of *England*, and I do not hear that he hath yet done it. I am sure your Excellency hath heard that your Lordship's friends at the *Louvre* offered the Cardinal *Jerséy* for his retreat; which was a strange and most unskillful counsel in the opinion of wise men, especially in this conjunction of affairs in *France*. I presume your Excellency will have letters now from hence from Lord *Inchiquin*, which makes me forbear to hold you any longer with my tedious discourses, and to crave leave hereby to assure you that I am, &c.

Hague, March 1,
1651. N. S.

CHA. LEDISON.

I pray

I pray be pleased to decypher this yourself.

Extract of a Letter of the $\frac{1}{24}$ of February 165^o, from a very discreet and right affected person of Quality.

I Protest, Sir, my heart is almost broke to consider the sad events will happen upon the King's delivering himself up to be governed by the *Louvre*; for it will force all honest men abroad to retire from his business, and it will discontent and dishearten all the loyal party in *England*. By a letter from a perfect loyal person from *England*, I am advertised that it's not credible how freely and voluntarily the people in *England* list themselves to go against the Scots ever since the King's declaration came from thence, and that they now understand, that those now about the King, with the influence of the *Louvre*, rule and betray him to the Scots: and to use his own words who writ the letter, he saith, that "as the hatred of the Queen and her governing made many rebels in the beginning of the English rebellion; so the same apprehensions begin to work afresh even in those who have all this while suffered in the King's cause. Believe it, Sir, it must be other manner of men and other manner of grounds than what they go upon, that must raise an English army at this time of the day." A.D. 1650

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

THE sincere and entire affection I have long had, and shall ever have for your person and
VOL. I. E e interests,


A.D. 1650 interests, will not permit me to conceal from you what peradventure a better Courtier might think fit to silence, which are some advertisements of near concernment to you, that I have received from several persons who truly honour your Excellency. And because it may be you may have heard from some to whom this relates, some things to my prejudice, I will not express the same in words of mine own, but give it your Lordship in extracts of the very letters themselves; which I send inclosed, humbly leaving the judgment thereof to yourself, begging your pardon for this presumption.

Concerning the Queen's dislike of me, as I am satisfied I have done nothing to deserve it, so if the fidelity and integrity wherewith I have always served may not set me right in her Majesty's opinion, I shall patiently bear her displeasure, and desire my friends not to be solicitous therein for me, as I understand your Lordship hath been, and I humbly thank your Lordship for it; for indeed I shall have no comfort to serve where I am so much, and I conceive so unjustly distrusted: but if I may obtain leave to retire with his Majesty's gracious opinion, I shall take it for a singular obligation, and your Excellency cannot lay on me a greater bond than to be a means therein on my behalf, who am not only grown old, but by late unprofitable and useless attendance drawn so very low as I and mine are ready to perish.

By the inclosed extract out of the *Mercurius Politicus* sent me from *Paris*, your Lordship may see with what prudence and secrecy the King's business is by the great Statesmen at the *Louvre* managed. I wish that was the only sad instance of the unskillful management and counsels there. There is no express arrived here from *Scotland* since Mr. *Rainsford*, and he brought no more news than *Titus*, *Blague* and their company delivered; but by the reports

reports of divers ships that are since come thence, *A.D. 1650*
 we believe the King is like to have shortly a considerable army, and that *Cromwell* and his men are sick and weak and much dejected, since their treacherous design upon *Brunt-island* failed, in which Colonel *Moncke* commanded and hardly escaped. There go over now divers English and others daily into *Scotland* to the King, and are there (we hear) very well received. *M. de Bellievre* the French Embassador hath lately had his audience of these States, and so hath likewise the King of *Portugal's* Embassador. The Princes of *Germany* are much unsatisfied that the execution of the general peace there is by the King of *Spain* and the Pope obstructed; which hath made them hold a Diet amongst themselves to consider and resolve what is best to be done therein: so as it's believed, there may break forth some new troubles in *Germany* this summer.

The Duke of *York* having by his letters pressed the Queen for her directions concerning his journey into *France*, and not receiving any order from her Majesty, is unwilling to be here when the Embassadors expected every day from *England* shall arrive; and therefore intends within few days to go with his family to *Breda*. His Highness is very desirous, according to the King's command, to return to *France* as soon as may be; but some say, the Queen is not now desirous to have him come so soon thither. I have lately seen a letter from very good hands from *England*, that a Town and Castle of importance shall be there seized for the King, if they who give the intelligence may have order for it from the King or Duke of *York*; but they will not have any at the *Louvre* know of it: and truly considering what speedy intelligence is still given from *Paris* of all affairs of the King's which are transacted at the *Louvre*, even in the *Mercurius* in *England*, I cannot blame those that will not confide in any there,

A.D. 1650  nor shall I ever be an instrument to bring any honest man in danger of communicating affairs with such futile persons. I shall not now add any more but my humble assurance that I shall ever remain, &c.

Hague, March $\frac{5}{15}$, 1650.

CHA. LEDISON.

Extracts inclosed.

Paris, March 3, 1651. N. S.

I Shall refer you to the last week's *Politician*, to shew you the Queen's opinion of Secretary *Nicholas*, and to let you see what good intelligence they have in *England* from *Paris*; assuring you all passages in it which relate to the *Louvre* are true.

The Marquess of *Ormonde*'s design for making a better understanding amongst the remnant of loyal persons were very good, if pursued upon a right ground, but I much fear he is put upon this attempt by Lord *Digby* and the *Louvre*, with an intent that by him they may work upon honest men to their advantage, as they serve themselves of him to countenance their *Louvre* Counsels.

They brag much at the *Louvre* that the Marquess of *Ormonde* is of their Counsel, and that which makes me rather believe it is, that whilst the Marquess of *Argyle* courts the *Louvre* one way, Duke *Hamilton* doth it another way by the Marquess of *Ormonde*, and the instrument between them is Mr. *Maxwell* (a very Scot) who lately received a letter of three pages from Duke *Hamilton*, which in a vanity he shewed to some women. The contents of it were to take notice that Mr. *Maxwell* had informed Duke *Hamilton*, that the Marquess of *Ormonde* was told, that at the treaty at *Breda*, *Hamilton* should have pressed the King to remove *Ormonde* from

from the command in *Ireland*, and to pray *Maxwell* A.D. 1650 to assure *Ormonde* that he was the man opposed all the rest of his countrymen in that motion.

Extract of a Letter from another Hand, Paris,
March 3d, 1651.

Upon the Marquess of *Ormonde*'s departure hence, I had a conference with him concerning you, and found him much afflicted with the Queen's countenance, which was not so benign to you as he could wish: he was confident of some value with her, and therefore told me he had, and would still use his interest to preserve you with her; for he said (and I believe) that she would be very powerful in the King's Counsels and with his Ministers, and he would neither have a prejudice done to the universality of affairs nor to your person by her Majesty's misapprehension of you. I must not doubt of your intelligence hereof, either by himself or by abler hands than mine; yet finding some reports of that Marquess's engagements with those of the *Louvre*, since his departure, wherein I could wish his caution, the rather because the design is too much discovered, I could wish he had your judgment of men along with him, lest the King's service and his honour should suffer; and however that Marquess hath not hitherto been successful, yet there is as much true honour, loyalty and virtue in his person as in any other subject which should be preserved, which considerations I refer to you.

Extract out of Mercurius Politicus, February 7,
1651, N. S.

Marquess *Ormonde* is to stay but a little while from the *Louvre*, the King of *Scotland* having by his letters (those brought by Mr. *Seymour*) substituted him to my Lord *Byron*, and desired him to take

A.D. 1650 the Duke of *York* into his charge and tuition; and as by the said *Seymour* he bid the Duke of *York* obey his mother's commands in returning into *France*, so he also bid him for to gratify her further, to put away Sir *Geo. Radcliff* and Dr. *Killigrew*, two persons no ways acceptable to her. But the King hath not given his mother full contentment in this particular, forasmuch as he hath bid the Duke to keep Sir *Edward Nicholas*, Sir *Edward Herbert* and Dr. *Stewart* still about him, and to do nothing without their advice of any matter of moment; as likewise to join unto them Sir *Edward Hyde*, who is on his way hither out of *Spain* with *Cottington*, these four persons being as little in the Queen's favour as these two that are turned away. She hath wrote to the Duke by the last post, that he may stay yet a while in *Holland*, not thinking it so fit nor honourable for him to come back hither, but upon some invitation from the French Court, the which she thought would be obtained by her with much facility. But hitherto she hath not been able to procure any such letter from the Queen regent, although she hath solicited it with much earnestness, and that her great endeavours of making the Duke *D'Orleans* and the Regent friends, seem to merit at least so small a favour at the Regent's hands.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

I Had the last week the honour of yours of the 2d of this month, and hope that before this your Lordship hath fully all particulars brought to *Paris* by *Titus* and others, who (it's here said) brought many particulars from *Scotland* of great concernment; whereupon I hear the Lord *Fermyn* is making haste to go to *Scotland*; but whether his associate

Mr.

Mr. *Daniel Hollis* will go thither so soon I yet hear not; albeit I am told he had as kind invitations as the other, and truly I believe would be fully as useful to the King, being a person of good abilities and great credit in that Kingdom, as I formerly acquainted your Excellency. I find the Lord *Taaffe* is in treaty still with the Duke of *Lorrain*, and I hear hath already gotten from him something in order to the assistance of *Ireland*; but what the particulars are, and on what terms, I know no more than I have formerly written, but I presume you will be advertised thereof by Lord *Inchiquin* or Lord *Taaffe*. But I wish that the Duke (who is a crafty merchant) be real in his undertakings and performances.

Concerning the Duke of *York*'s journey for *France*, we have here yet no more news than I acquainted you in my last, only it's written by some from *Paris*, that it's believed the Queen will not now be sudden in sending for him. This place is not fit for his residence, and if money can be gotten, he intends this week or the next to go to *Breda* before the rebels Embassadors come hither, who are daily expected here. We shall now with the first wind expect Mr. *Fanshawe* from *Scotland*, by whom I hope to receive such measures as to be able to form a resolution what to do for my own particular: and I beseech your Lordship not to be severe in your censure of your humble servant, if after so great scorn and patience I do at length (since I can do the King no service in the ways he takes and with the Counsels he now suffers himself to be governed by) endeavour to preserve myself and poor family from utter ruin. For indeed as the case now stands I cannot conceive our starving to do his Majesty no service can be required from me; and I am confident my retiring will be most agreeable to those into

A.D. 1650 whose hands he hath now put all his business, where-
 in I shall heartily pray for all prosperity.

I have herein sent your Excellency an extract of a letter I received lately from *Paris*, whereby your Lordship may see what judgment abler men than I make of the Counsels at the *Louvre*, whereby his Majesty is and hath been governed. Oh! my Lord, without a well composed Council of loyal persons that can trust one another and will be trusted by honest and loyal men, I can never hope to see his Majesty again on his Throne, or any of his designs or enterprizes to prosper. The Lord *Inchiquin* was the last week arrested by some Dutchmen at *Amsterdam* for staying of a ship in *Ireland*, which it seems was arrested by your Excellency's order or warrant, which appearing his Lordship is at liberty. By this you may see that these countries are no respecters of persons. I assure your Lordship, I hear that the levies in *Scotland* go on very slowly, and for my part I have reason to fear the King's Person is in very great danger where he now is: God preserve and protect his Majesty. By a Dutch vessel newly come from *Scotland*, it's reported, that there are three men hanged that would have betrayed *Brunt-island* to *Cromwell*; but one *Mosse* that was hired by the English rebels to poison the King, and after his confessing that his wicked design being condemned by the Parliament in *Scotland* to die for it, was afterwards by the importunity and means of the Earl of *Lothian* (*Carre*) pardoned. I shall now add no more, but crave pardon for this tediousness, resting, &c.

Hague, March $\frac{1}{2}$, 1650.

Jo. JONES.

Inclosed,

*Inclosed, Extract of a Letter from Paris, of
March 10, 1651. N. S.*

THE Coadjutor (who is the person that for ^{A.D. 1650}
State intrigues rules the rest) did this week upon a private audience he gave *Morrel* (the rebels Agent) without any nicety barefaced and resolutely declare, he would meddle no more with his business, because he saw all the Papers and Addresses bore the stile of the Commonwealth of *England*, which he had vowed to die e're he would acknowledge: whereupon I assure you, *Morrel* is at his wits end.

And to let you see there are those here who are mindful of the King's interests, the Coadjutor being applied unto upon this hint, he answered, that this was done upon their general resentment of Monarchy; but to undertake in the cause of the King, he thought it no ways prudent or safe for them, considering he hath unadvisedly given himself up into the hands of the Scots and into the Counsels of the *Louvre*.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

THE Duke of *York* having long and with much passion expected the Queen's directions for his coming into *France* and not received any for it hitherto, is now removed hence to *Breda*, that he might be absent when the things called Ambassadors from *England* were received here, having in great indignation the reception of his blessed Father's murderers: and indeed it would have been esteemed a very infamous thing for him to have remained on the place, where and when they had been received with
so

A.D. 1650 so much solemnity; yet his Highness offered the Princess-Royal to have staid with her, if she desired it. I intend (it may be the next week) to go after his Highness to *Breda*, to stay there till Mr. *Fanshawe* shall return from *Scotland*. There went with the Duke to *Breda*, the Lord *Byron*, Lord *Gerrard*, and divers other English Gentlemen: Mr. Attorney, and Mr. Dean *Stewart* and others will follow him this week. Lord *Inchiquin* is still at *Utrecht*.

I have herein sent your Excellency a copy of such news, as some newly come from *England* report; albeit I will not be answerable for the truth of every particular, yet I assure you I had it from two very honest Gentlemen. Mr. *John Seymour* is newly arrived from *England*, and tells me he will shortly wait on your Lordship from your friends there, and acquaint you with some businesses of importance. I hear the D. of *Lorrain* is by the means of his brother the D. of *Orleans* in treaty with *France*. I am very glad to hear that Lord *Digby* hath by the Prince of *Condé's* favour the command of the troops in *Normandy*, and an addition of 200 pistoles a month to his former pension of 100 a month, and promise of a better command: but I doubt this (when it shall be known in *England*) may give them an alrum in the West-country. Sir *John Henderson* who came from *Scotland* on Wednesday or this day sevensnight, saith that the King was then at *St. Johnston's* and had an army of 16,000 foot and 6000 horse; that *Cromwell* was with a flux drawn so weak both in his body and understanding, as he was not able to act or direct any thing, and was gone to *Berwick*, with intention to go for *Newcastle*; that there were in nomination to have the command in chief of the army, *Lambert*, Sir *Art. Haslerig* and one Col. *Harrison*: this last is at *London* and by the Council of State chosen as one they are most confident of, but is not so well liked by the army, as either of the others.

The

The Lord *Fairfax* is in *England* dying of a palsey. *A.D. 1650*

Cromwell wrote in his last letter from *Scotland*, that the young man (meaning his Majesty) was there very active and intelligent: which I am glad to hear from so rancorous a rebel. God hath certainly some great work in hand, and the crisis is now near, so as within six weeks we shall (I believe) see some great alteration. These Ambassadors here from the English rebels are generally much malign-ed, inso-much as their followers (though very brave) cannot walk the streets, but they are by boys and women, as well as by men, especially Dutch, French and Germans, affronted and railed at in the streets. I fear I tire your Excellency, whilst I please myself with a desire to express, that I am, &c.

Hague, March 12^o, 1650.

J. JONES.

The M. of Ormonde's Answer to Sir E. Nicholas.

SIR,

THE experience I have had of your affection to me, ever since I had the honour to be employed by our late blessed Master, renders the apology in your letter of the 5th of this month useles, as to the persuading me that in your advertisements or advices you can have any ends contrary to my interests. And I hope the use I have hitherto or shall hereafter make of them, will give you no cause to repent of your care and freedom, or to desist from the continuance of them: and though you may perhaps sometimes find cause sufficient to disapprove my judgment, yet I shall expect from your friendship and the deference I have to your abilities a profitable convincement rather than a silent condemnation.

If, as you wished, the extract you sent me out of

Poli-

A.D. 1651 *Politicus* were the only instance of the unskilfulness of the *Louvre* Counsels, I confess I should not know how to blame much their want of secrecy: for if you please to reflect upon what is there taken notice of, you will find very little discovered in it that is true, possible and necessary to be kept secret, or that may not as probably have been published in *Scotland* or *Holland*, as at *Paris*. That his Majesty commanded by Mr. *Seymour* that you and I should attend the D. of *York*, and that Sir G. *Radcliffe* and Dr. *Killigrew* should withdraw themselves, was not (I think) intended to be kept so secret, nor for ought I see, very possible or very necessary it should: but that my attendance should be by way of substitution to my Lord *Byron* in any sense, is untrue. Whether the King hath ordered his Highness to keep about him, together with you, Sir *Edw. Hyde*, Sir *Edw. Herbert* and Dr. *Steward* is more than I know; and yet I saw Mr. *Seymour's* instructions: but if he hath, I see not the prejudice of having it known, or the possibility of concealing it long, if the King be obeyed. That you four are out of her Majesty's favour is the affirmation of *Politicus*: if it be true, it is no argument of admirable intelligence; for the dislikes of Princes are for the most part accompanied with actions or words, that manifest to the world where they are placed. I could heartily wish, that *Politicus* were wholly deceived in this, as I suppose he in a great part is; or at least will be in the use he and his intelligencer would make of it; which doubtless is, to make those distastes that are irreconcilable, and to divide and weaken the counsels and endeavours of all that are for the King's restoration.


I believe the Queen writ to the Duke not to come into *France*, till she had procured an invitation from the French Court; which was so obviously fit, that it fell easily into every ones apprehension:

hension: and without great intelligence, it might ^{A.D. 1651} have been guessed to be, (as without much prejudice I think it might be owned to be) part of the Queen's letter. But most certain I am that, when *Politicus's* intelligence was given, the Queen had not at all moved for such an invitation: so that the Queen's earnest solicitation, and the other Queen's coldness was a meer fiction at that time, and I believe will prove no true prophecy.

The Queen's interposition for reconciliation betwixt the Queen Regent and the Duke of *Orleans*, (for as much as I could observe of it, and I think I saw as far into it as he that sent to *Politicus* of it) was unavoidably put upon her, and not very passionately undertaken or prosecuted by her, especially as to the Cardinal; for whom I believe she has no great affection; which I believe is so understood by the Prince of *Condé*.

The first of the extracts you sent me in yours of *March 5*, sent you in a letter of the 3d from *Paris*, takes notice of a design I had to make a better understanding amongst the remnant of loyal persons. He that writ it does me much honour to call that a design, which in me came to little more than a hearty impotent wish: but his fear that I was put upon the attempt (as he calls it) by my Lord *Digby* or any other, is altogether unnecessary; for it was never suggested to me by any person whatsoever, but merely by my zeal to the King's service; which must suffer for want of it.

What design the *Louvre* may have upon honest men, to their advantage and the prejudice of those men, I know not; nor yet what particular counsels those are that have proceeded from thence, so much disliked and to which they sought countenance by me. All the while I was there, the Duke of *York's* returning into *France* was the only thing of moment imparted to me: and in that I found little difficulty

A.D. 1651  or room for intrigue : but I hope I shall never be so unhappily weak as to be made instrumental to the prejudice of honest men, or to the countenance of very imprudent or at all pernicious counsels. On the other side, I shall never refuse nor disavow my concurrence to such counsels, as I conceive may probably conduce to the disturbance of the rebels, by whomsoever the counsel is given, or from whencesoever the disturbance is projected ; believing nothing more dangerous to the English Monarchy, and to those that must stand or fall with it, than that the rebels should have means, by easing the people, to gain their affections, and by a perfect tranquillity to have power, leisure and reputation to establish their tyranny at home, and their alliances abroad : and if to interrupt them, we take not things in time and as they are offered, we may well fear they will never come as we wish.

I take it to be one thing to give a counsel, and another thing to advise upon a counsel already taken : the one may be absolutely unlawful ; to the other we may be absolutely obliged. It is possible, if I had been upon the place, and fit to have given my opinion concerning his Majesty's putting himself as he did into the hands of his subjects of *Scotland*, I might have been against it : but if against my sense, (upon what persuasion soever) his Majesty had taken the contrary advice, I think, I not only may but ought to advance his service by my counsels and assistance, even in the way he hath chosen, if I be admitted or commanded to it. I am much deceived, if it hath not passed for the most orthodox doctrine, with those I take to be the most orthodox men, that in lawful commands (and such certainly is the defence or recovery of their just rights) we are to yield active obedience to Papist, nay to Pagan Princes ; if we be their subjects : and why not as well at least to a Presbyterian King, I know not.

not. This excursion is the longest; perhaps im-^{A.D. 1651}
pertinent.

To return to your Extract, where it says that, as the M. of *Argyle* courts the *Louvre* one way, Duke *Hamilton* doth it another, and that is by me, Mr. *Maxwell* being the instrument between us; alledging for argument a letter *Maxwell* had then received from Duke *Hamilton*. The letter intended *Maxwell* shewed me at my first coming to *Paris*: it was written in *June* last after the conclusion of the Treaty at *Breda*, when there could be little expectation of my doing Duke *Hamilton* any service at the *Louvre*, and it takes no notice of any information from *Maxwell*. It is true, Duke *Hamilton* clears himself of an imputation cast upon him touching me, and desires *Maxwell*, as his kinsman and ancient acquaintance, to keep him right with me and my wife, if any such report should come to us; the bare shewing of which letter is all *Maxwell's* part in this business, or in any thing else touching Duke *Hamilton* towards me. Nor did I ever, that I remember, so much as mention Duke *Hamilton* to the Queen or any body else at the *Louvre*; much less did I make any court for him, or was desired by any body to do it: by which, and the undeserved mark he sets upon *Maxwell*, it seems to me, that he who writ the letter to you is not only fallible in his intelligence, but somewhat an hasty former of conclusions upon his own fancy.

I think the other extract was from Mr. *Wandesford*; for I do not remember to have taken notice to any body else of the Queen's countenance to you; unless I may have said something of it to my Lord *Hatton*. It is very true, I found the Queen unsatisfied with you, and said in your defence what I conceived fit to pass from your real friend to her Majesty. I shall proceed no further in that, than I shall have warrant from you; but I am both unwilling

A.D. 1651 ling and unqualified to serve you in procuring your retreat from his Majesty's business. If I were capable of it, I should rather wish to be an instrument to interest you further in it with your advantage and contentment.

The design this latter extract takes notice of as too much discovered, is altogether unknown to me, nor do I at all understand what it can mean; though in the caution and the words given me at the latter end, I must presume the advertisement proceeds from friendship and care of me.

I have troubled you the longer with what may seem to you a justification of the *Louvre*, to let you see that, though affairs there may have been ill carried, yet it is possible they may have been charged with more than they have to answer for. I doubt not but they likewise have been at least as much misinformed of others; which if I knew, I would as freely tell them; though I am not ignorant, that one that labours to reconcile parties, and for that purpose delivers his mind plainly, is in danger of losing both: but when there are greater dangers in the continuance of the division, I shall pass over that.

The offers made to you and the Lord *Hopton* out of *England* are of high importance, if they come from likely undertakers: but how they can expect orders, when to attempt their designs with most advantage, or receive commissions and other encouragements to dispose and enable them to perform them; and all with the caution prescribed, I know not. The time when with most advantage to execute their design, if they intend the assistance of the Scots, must be known out of *Scotland*: but they that fear to impart their purpose to the *Louvre*, I suppose have as much apprehension of *Scotland*; since their fear of the *Louvre* is by reason of their believed conjunction with *Scotland*. If the design be to set up a party upon the old foot against Presbyterians

byterians and Independents, I know not how they can expect directions or commissions from the King, as he stands engaged; or whether a party on that score (less than what could subsist and give the law of itself) were yet to be wished, even for the advantage of their party and cause. If you had liberty to acquaint the King with these offers, I presume you will have done it before any advice from me can come to you; and if his Majesty have left power in such cases with the Duke of York, you have doubtless imparted them to him, and received his pleasure: and what more to say of overtures thus limited, I know not; but that as you desire I shall keep them to myself. And having certainly wearied you with this tedious letter, shall constantly remain, &c.

March 30, 1651.

ORMONDE.

The M. of Ormonde to M. Secretary Nicholas.

S I R,

IF I do not punctually return you answers to all the letters you do me the favour to write, I beseech you impute it to my want of matter fit to entertain you with, being here removed from all the considerable occurrences of the time; which are from the places of action more speedily and certainly represented to you, than they can be by me, that receive my knowledge of them by the reflections of others, which perhaps may sometimes bear a tincture of their affections that write them.

I have as you desired me decyphered the extract of a letter, you sent me in yours of the 8th of this month, with my own hand, as I do all the letters I receive from you. And because you have taken the

A.D. 1651 pains to reiterate your informations and conceptions upon that subject, I conceive, if you do not expect it, yet it will not be displeasing to you to know mine upon it; which I shall deliver to you with all freedom, depending upon your belief of my constancy to those principles, for which I have faithfully, though unsuccessfully, contended and suffered.

I shall look no farther back into the causes of the ruin of our late blessed Master's affairs, than to acknowledge to you that I believe he might have been much better advised than he was, if he had suffered no advice at all to have prevailed against his own reason, but followed the dictates of that with steadiness. And it may be very true that the observation of the Queen's power may in the beginning have made rebels of some that despaired of getting into her favour, and thereby into the advantages they aimed at; disguising, perhaps, the true reason of their declining their duty under pretence, that it was because they discerned an impossibility of the King's prevailing, his affairs being so governed as they were. But your constancy in your services and sufferings for the King (though with divers others you may have disapproved the conduct of his business) shews that you abhor the example and know the invalidity of the pretence. Certain it is there can be no cause to justify rebellion: if subjects resisting their Prince can be made lawful, that resistance must have another name: but if rebellion be as the sin of witchcraft, it can no more than witchcraft be legitimated by hopes or certainty of private or public preservation: and I never heard that any have been so bold as to say private men or nations.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

I Render your Lordship humble thanks for the honour of yours of *March* 23, and if in any of my former I have presumed too far, in giving you the trouble of some extracts of letters sent me, I beseech you that my entire and tender respects and affection to your person may purchase my pardon for that boldness: and that you will vouchsafe to believe this truth, that I had no design in communicating the same, but merely to discharge that part (I conceive) was incumbent on one, who desires to be esteemed your Lordship's most faithful servant. I have ever been and am still notwithstanding what any at the *Louvre* may say to the contrary, so much of your opinion, as I conceive he hath not right affections to God or the King, that shall decline to join with any party in the destruction of the rebels in *England*; so as it may be without pressures inconsistent with honour and conscience. But I may tell your Lordship, the harangues in Council, and discourses in the Court at *Breda* were, that honour and conscience were bugbears; and that the King ought to govern himself rather by the rules of prudence and necessity: and whatsoever those at the *Louvre* may now say to your Lordship, I am told, that such is still the judgment of some of the great Oracles there. I will not censure what is past: but for my particular, (because I have some reason to believe that you may have there heard much in my prejudice in that kind) I can truly say, I have endeavoured according to the measure of understanding God hath given me, to keep myself close and carefully to that rule your Lordship mentions, and hold it a madness for any to think it possible at first

A.D. 1651

A.D. 1651 to restore the Church and State to their full right which must certainly be the work of time, wherein God's providence must be waited on with patience. My Lord, if you duly observe the practices and actions of those, who report all that are not of their fancy to be averse to join for the King's restoration, you will easily discern that it's they themselves who are the cause that all parties are not united in that most necessary service; for they have ever been, and are still most peevishly and unreasonably stubborn against taking in and joining with the King's party, or permitting any number of them to have any share in destroying the rebels, unless in such manner, as when that shall be effected, their friends the Presbyterians may have a second dominion over the Royalists. Albeit this may be the design of the Presbyterian faction, yet I heartily wish that all parties were well united to suppress the present rebels. For truly, I do not apprehend that the Presbyterians (whose hypocrisy is now better understood in *England* and elsewhere than ever it was) will be able ever to recover again in *England* so much power with the people to do mischief, as once they had.

I have herein sent your Lordship an extract of a letter I lately received from *Medrid*, and another of one that came lately to my hands from Mr. *Fanshawe* from *Dundee*. We have here divers reports, that the King hath a great army, and I believe a good part of it: but I shall not affirm any thing that I have not from a good hand thence. From *England* a Parliament man writes to a friend here, that he saw a letter about a month since from *Cromwell*, which said that the King was very active and intelligent in his business: and methinks Mr. *Fanshawe* speaks to the same purpose, which is to me the subject of my greatest hopes and comfort. I am sure your Lordship hears, how ticklish and doubtful the condition of affairs in *France* is, which it's thought will

will cause the Duke of York's stay to be longer from ^{A.D. 1651} thence. He is still at *Breda*; but I perceive his Royal Sister is desirous to have him now to return hither: if he doth not, I may perhaps go to his Highness: which I would not willingly do, because removing is very chargeable, and this is the best place to do any service that shall be commanded me; and if none be, then I intend before Whitfontide to go to *Wesel*, which is a much cheaper and healthier country, being three or four days journey from hence.

I am advertised from *Francfort*, that the Duke of *Wirtemberg* hath lately caused some justice to be done on one Dr. *Seifrid*, who not long since wrote some treatise, that the English rebels had done well to murder the King of glorious memory; having caused his papers (full of new and pernicious opinions) to be burnt by the hand of the hangman; and had put the Doctor himself to death, had it not been for the great intercession of some about that Duke: he hath banished him out of his dominions. The things called Ambassadors are here in very great pomp and glory; which draws an addition of envy on them and their Masters. They and all their train (which is near 200 persons) have now here really as great fears and jealousies upon them, as formerly they feigned, being every day affronted by all nations as well as the English: but this will not (I believe) exceed a nine days wonder. We expect every day an Express from *Scotland*. God grant he may bring good news: but I hear for certain, that though the Marquess of *Huntley* be freed of his excommunication and all other things imposed on him; yet he is not permitted to have any command in the army: which shews the union is not entire as yet amongst them; but I hope it will be in a little more time. I fear I have tres-

A.D. 1651 passed too much on your Lordship's patience, whilst I endeavour to express that I am, &c.

Hague, April 5, 1651, N. S.

Jo. WILCOCKS,

The M. of Ormonde to Sir E. Nicholas.

S I R,

AFTER so tedious a trouble as that I gave you in my letter of *March 30*, it would seem reasonable this should not exceed in length or in cypher. I know no more of what *Titus* and those that came with him brought than I did by your letters, and till I received yours of *March 22*, had no notice that *Hollis* was invited into *Scotland*. But the very day I received that letter, *Titus* came hither; and some days before *Hollis* came: whether it was a designed meeting betwixt them that might be disguised by the pretence of a visit to me I know not, or whether my Lord *Fermyn*'s coming hither about a week hence, as *Titus* told me he purposed, be not for a consultation to be had betwixt *Fermyn* and *Hollis* under the same pretence. For *Titus* brought me neither letters nor message, nor pretended to me any business at all; and I press no man for more knowledge of his business than he is willing to impart to me. Something there must be in it more than a ceremonious visit; for Lord *Fermyn* professes a greater freedom in his friendship to me, than requires such; however be pleased to keep this advertisement to yourself.

My Lord *Taaffe* hath imparted to me (as he says) all his transaction with the Duke of *Lorrain*. I confess the things he hath undertaken to treat of are high, and I take him to be scarcely experienced enough

enough to deal with so practised a person: but I ^{A.D. 1651} presume he hath before now acquainted the Duke of York with all he hath done, whereby if any thing hath been overseen, the best remedy may be found out, and the future conduct of any further Treaty more warily carried. The best is some supplies are gone into *Ireland*, and there is nothing concluded: besides we may almost defy the cheater. I long very much for Mr. *Fanshawe's* return, upon whose relations we may confidently rely, and by whom I hope you will receive such testimonies of the King's kindness to you, as will content you in whatever you shall be commanded or that necessity may impose upon you: wherein I am well assured you will always be able to justify yourself to him and the world. But if you think of retiring because it will be agreeable to others who you believe prosecute ends contrary to yours, give me leave to disapprove your reason and to tell you, that if you can be admitted into a share in business without pressure upon your conscience, (such as the Covenant may be) without distracting of Counsels, and with any possibility of subsistence, you owe the King and the Church a subduing even of just resentments, and a resignation of yourself to a compliance with the way affairs are in, that you may be found in a proper and advantageous place to lay hold of the opportunity I hope God will offer us with effect to shew our zeal to his Church, our duty to the King, and our affection to our intralled Country. I acknowledge that such a Council as you describe is to be wished and prayed for; but in my little experience and less reading, I cannot remember that ever any Prince had exactly such a Council: which considering the diversity of parties and interests, by which the King's subjects in these times of various troubles and continual change are divided, is now much less than heretofore to be hoped for, and if those that

A.D. 1651 I have confidence in each other and are trusted by honest and loyal persons, keep themselves out, when they may have admittance upon the aforesaid conditions, when will there be a foundation for such a Council? For as it is to be unreasonably sanguine to hope we can leap into such a happy composure out of so universal division; so surely the next degree to that happiness, and the means to attain to the perfection of it is to have as many of that stamp as may be gotten in.

I find how easily I suffer myself to be transported to tediousness, when I discharge myself of my thoughts upon one I have so much friendship to and confidence in: but here I will conclude and remain, &c.

Caen, April 6,
1651.

ORMONDE.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

AS I held it agreeable to my respects to your Excellency to acquaint you with the Extracts I sent, so finding by your Lordship's of *March* 30. your prudent judgment of them, I am so fully satisfied with it, as I have nothing more to say on that subject. Your opinion that a man ought to yield active obedience to his King, whether Papist, Pagan, or Presbyterian, (though I never yet read or heard of any of the latter) so far as may be consistent with honour and conscience is undoubtedly most orthodox: but when a man is set aside, because he is not of the opinion of the major part, I conceive he is not obliged to sue to be employed in the counsels from which he dissented. Since the Queen is pleased to express her great dislike of me, I am very glad that her Majesty hath done me the honour

honour to rank me with so deserving persons as Sir *E. Hyde* and Dr. *Stewart*; the credit and worth of either of which, I am confident, will weigh down the reputation of any three of the Queen's most intimate Counsellors at the *Louvre*, in the judgment of most honest and loyal men.

As for my attendance on the Duke of *York*, I am not yet resolved what to do, finding it a task little less than impossible for any man that is in the Queen's disfavour so to behave himself in such an employment, as to be able to serve the King or the Duke as he ought, or to preserve himself from being misrepresented to the King; for I see already that whatever the Duke doth that is not suitable to the Queen's mind, and to the little designs of those about her, is presently interpreted and reported to be a factious plot. And I may tell your Excellency, I am very sorry to find so great and causeless jealousies endeavoured to be raised of the Duke, who (I assure you) hath in my opinion most dutiful affections for the King: but I cannot say that I believe he doth conceive that the Queen or any about her esteems him or hath much kindness for him. I do not discern any disposition or inclination in the Duke of *York* to do any thing that may in the least manner distate the King; but I very much apprehend that if he shall find that his great desire to merit by his obedience shall be still misrepresented, and that his Person (being now past a child) shall be by the Queen and her Sycophants rendered contemptible in their table discourses, it may (I doubt) make him give ear to Counsels and Persons that may put other things into his head, than his natural good disposition inclines him to.

As concerning the present divisions among the King's friends, I may freely say to your Lordship, that I have long observed that the great disunion in the King's Council and Court hath for
the

A.D. 1651 the most part risen from the busy negotiations and designs of the Queen's Court, which hath ever since I had the honour to attend in Councils, been the principal *Mobile* in all great affairs: and though the King hath had a formed Council, and sworn Councillors, yet all business of greatest moment have ever been moulded and carried by such interlopers and factious meddlers and no Councillors; which hath brought on the King and his family and Kingdoms all the miseries they now suffer; and I doubt that whilst his Majesty treads the same steps, he will not get out of the unhappy condition he is in. And as I believe it possible (as your Lordship says) the *Louvre* may be charged with some things it is not guilty of, so I doubt it is guilty of many things that are not imputed to it. Were it not that I were entirely your servant, and conceived it very requisite, that your Excellency (who it is likely may have much committed to you in the present conjuncture) should be rightly informed of the Councils to which his Majesty (I hear) intends now to intrust the ordering and management of all his great affairs, I should not have presumed to have given your Lordship the trouble of this freedom, though I know my self extream safe in your Lordship's hands.

I confess, I am still full and clear in my poor opinion, that nothing will so probably raise his Majesty's honour and affairs to a reputation in the world, as his settling a well composed Council of persons that have been untainted in their honour and loyalty, who will trust each other and in whom his faithful friends in *England* and in foreign parts will confide. I have given his Majesty an account of what I have received from *England*; and because I conceived it might be necessary for the King's friends to rise before they could probably have any directions from *Scotland*, I have presumed

to

to advise them to send some particular messengers ^{A.D. 1651} to lye in *Westmoreland*, and *Lancashire* and those parts to bring them certain intelligence when the King should be ready to engage, or when any considerable number of his Majesty's friends thereabouts should rise, so that those in the South might then also appear. But the great discoveries occasioned by the unhappy intercepting of *Berkenhead*, will (I fear) be so epidemical a discouragement to all honest men in *England*, as will make them all shift for themselves and destroy all hopes there. I have herein sent you what an able honest man hath written to me of it, and of *Ireland* where I hope things are mending.

We have had no exprefs from *Scotland* since my last; but I have herein sent your Lordship a Scots letter from (as I am credibly assured) a very honest Scotsman, who received the same lately from (as he says) an able and intelligent person now in *Scotland*; by which you will see the state of the union and levies there. When I shall see or hear again from Mr. *Fanshawe*, I shall be able (I hope) to resolve how to dispose of myself in some private retirement. Wheresoever I shall be, I shall truly honour your Excellency and pray for a happy success on all your undertakings, as being entirely and sincerely, &c.

Hague, April $\frac{2}{12}$, 1651.

360

Letters inclosed.

London, February 14, 1650.

THE last week after the Committee of Compositions had stayed long for *Bradshaw* (the Chairman) *Martin* moved another might be voted into the place, for that it was usual in other Committees;

A.D. 1651 mittees; whereupon they voted him in and he accordingly sate. Immediately after *Bradshaw* came in state with a great guard before him. *Martin* notwithstanding kept the Chair and *Bradshaw* sate as a private person. One of *Bradshaw's* friends moved, that he might be commanded to the Chair, being best acquainted with the business of that Committee. *Martin* replied, he knew no reason they should not observe the rules of other Committees; that a man once placed in the Chair was not to be displaced till the business of that day was ended, and that he knew as well to manage as *Bradshaw*.

Last Thursday 21 of the Council of State were voted out, and the Tuesday following so many chosen in their rooms. *Bradshaw* continues in, and it was spoken by one of the Council of State, that they kept him in for fear he should have hanged himself, and *Martin* is thrown out. They are brought to such streights for money, that they have put it to the vote, whether they should double the Tax or take the third part of every man's by way of subsidy: and they concluded to double the Tax, which will amount to 240000 a month.

Concerning *Ireland*, Saturday last the Council sent for Mr. *Bellingham* to advise with him about what they should do. He bid them send for their army out of *Scotland*, if they meant to save *Ireland*. The Irish have lately taken four of their garrisons, put 1000 men to the sword, and hanged one Colonel *Stubbins* over one of the garrison walls. The Irish declare it is not Religion they fight for, but to restore the King and redeem themselves from slavery; and that all Protestants which shall join with them shall have protection, and many have put themselves into arms. The English are so wasted, they are not able to take the field. The Irish are in several bodies not so little in all as 30,000 horse and foot: they have had great success of late.

Out of *Scotland* the news is as bad, *Cromwell* ^{A.D. 1651} hath certainly lost 2000 men in his retreat from *Sterling*. The news to *Prideaux* of routing Col. *Massey* proved false and ridiculous. A letter came to Col. *Hacker* advising him to hasten towards them; for the Scots were already in a body of 30,000 men. The Parliament of *Scotland* sate Wednesday last. Duke *Hamilton* was brought to the stool of repentance, and made a satisfactory acknowledgment to the Church, and had their consent to raise forces. *St. John* goes Embassador to *Holland*. Col. *Blague* is in the *Downs*, and Prince *Rupert* at sea. A fast to morrow is to be kept at *Whitehall*, *Durham-house*, and other places.

Montrose, March 6, 1651.

S I R,

THE various revolutions of affairs here, and my own distressed condition, not daring to appear in publick, did occasion my silence all this time: and though the King in shew hath some more freedom, I do not apprehend that he hath any great security. Traytors do act with confidence, and nothing questioned when guilty. The Remonstrance hath too many Patrons, and I fear honest men shall be destroyed by this seeming way of compliances. Our Grandees who govern intend never their King shall be more master of *Scotland*; and I fear shall reduce him and his to such extremities as will constrain him to embrace any thing. The other great man is not in publick, but only a spectator, (though lately penitent) makes great professions, but you are a shrewd guesier I fear. His Majesty hath been lately in *Aberdeen* for raising the Northern levies, but was suddenly recalled upon an unnecessary alarm. *Middleton* is gone North to *Rosse* and *Murray* for bringing forth the levies there, and

A.D. 1651 and I hope will be careful to do his best: but men who did formerly profess they would put all to stake for the King if they could be admitted, when put in a capacity, are now very cold. I conceive their fears of underhand dealing for destroying them is the reason, and it is not strange their entertaining those thoughts. *Huntley* cannot be admitted to charge at all, though he could do the King better service than any Scotsman. This is the last proving. I will attend the event so long as there is any hopes, though I fear the worst. God preserve his Majesty and all honest men. I am presently going to *Inverness* to *Middleton*, and when I see the fate of the levies there, I shall by the first occasion send you an account, and shall in what condition soever I be, continue for ever,

S I R, &c.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

HAVING by the last post had no letters from *England* or *France*, I have the less occasion to give you the trouble of my letters, yet I would not omit to acquaint you, that there is no express arrived here from *Scotland*, since Mr. *Rainsford* came. But a letter of *March 28.* from *Massey* to Alderman *Bunce* says, *Cromwell* is dead, having murdered himself, and this *Massey* writes with so much assurance, as though little credit be here given to any presbyterian news, it was believed for some days; but is contradicted now by a Dutch Skipper that came from *Leith* about eight days since, who assures us that *Cromwell* was then on recovery, though very weak. I have lately seen another letter of *March 11.* from a very honest man in *Scotland*, who hath written to the same effect as that I sent you

you in my last of that date : and I hear by others ^{A.D. 1651} who have good intelligence from *Scotland*, that the King is there in a sad and doubtful condition ; his Person and all his affairs being in the sole ordering and government of very treacherous persons.

I have herein sent you an extract of a letter from Col. *Marshe* from *Scilly*, whereby you may see the condition of that important place. We suppose *Van Trump* is by this on that coast, and may peradventure meet with some of the men of war belonging to those isles : but I hope he will not be able to force that place. A Committee of these States have been this fortnight in treaty with the things called Embassadors from *England* : but I cannot learn that any thing is yet agreed on between them. It is said that these States decline to make any league with those in *England*, but only for what concerns the trade of the two nations : but the securing of commerce will necessarily draw on a league offensive and defensive between them at sea ; which if concluded will be as prejudicial to the King and all Princes, which trade or whose subjects do trade, as may be. These States, (I hear) absolutely refuse to treat with the French, till satisfaction shall be by them given for the depredations committed by them on the subjects of these States in the *Mediterranean*. These pretended English Embassadors are daily affronted and reviled still by the Dutch and French, as well as by the English ; and their servants and followers are baffled and wounded almost every day. They have (as I am credibly assured) at this time 14 of their company hurt that keep in their house, and are not able to go abroad : and every day or night some affront is done them or to some of theirs ; which hath rendered *St. John* extremely melancholy and sad. These States have put forth two Placarts or Proclamations forbidding any man to offer any injury

A.D 1651 jury to the Embassadors or any of their train, or to frequent in any numbers about their house: and a guard of thief-leaders (as they are here called) are continually attending at their house, and yet it doth not hinder the people here to revile and affront them.

The Duke of *York* is still at *Breda*, but intends very shortly to make a visit to his sister here for some days, that he may be ready to go into *France*, when he shall be sent for, which is his passionate desire. Col. *Blague* goes away this week for *Scotland*, and if Lord *Fermyn* do not take the opportunity of a passage provided to transport him, for my part I believe his Lordship will not go for *Scotland* this summer; for after this month it will be too insecure for him to venture it, as his friends say. I shall attend in these parts, till Mr. *Fanshawe* return, or (which I rather wish) send hither some dispatch; for indeed I conceive the King should do very well to keep him by him, if it may be permitted; and if not, the King is not in so gallant a condition as some would have us believe. The Lords *Inchiquin* and *Trafse* have been about a week at *Breda* with the Duke of *York*. I wish I were able to express how sincerely and entirely I am, &c.

Hague, April 19th,
1651.

JO. GREGORY.

Mr. *Long* (for whose truth I will not be answerable) told me about a month since, and others have since confirmed the same, that Lord *Fermyn* and Mr. *Denzil Hollis* were by letters and messages delivered to them by *Titus* from the King and the Marquess of *Argyle*, invited into *Scotland* to be both made Secretaries of State for *England*: and the last week it was written to me from
Paris,

Paris, that *Titus* was gone to *Normandy* to meet *A.D. 1651*
with *Mr. Hollis* upon that occasion; which I
presume is no news to your Lordship.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

My most honoured Lord,

I Received your Lordship's favour of the 6th
present the next day after the departure of the
last post; it having been sent to *Breda*, where I
intended to have been, but for some business of
my own which detained me. The news of *Titus*
and *Mr. Hollis* being at *Caen* to make a visit to
your Lordship was written to me from *Paris*,
where some are of opinion that the visit was only
to disguise their meeting, and that Lord *Fermyn*
(who gives forth that he will go for *Fersey*) will
come also to *Caen*, or at least to *Rouen*, to consult
with his new brother secretary, and to adjust their
business and designs. But for all this I cannot
bring myself to believe that either of them will go
into *Scotland*, till they are assured that the King is
in a more prosperous condition. If my poor obser-
vation and judgment were worth any thing, I
would in freedom tell your Excellency that I con-
ceive that it is no small part of the policy of these
wits of the time (who have not the best credit
with persons of honour and integrity) to make those
of the best estimation properties and stales for
their ends and advantages. The Lords *Inchiquin*
and *Taaffe* were some time with the Duke of *York*
at *Breda*; but what they consulted of with his
Highness I know not in particular. I have heard it
was something about a proposition made by the
Duke of *Lorraine* concerning a match between his
daughter and the Duke of *York*; which is a busi-
ness of very great and important concernment to

A.D. 1651 the King, and ought not to be embraced or received, until the King had given leave and directions how far and in what manner : and I doubt not but care is therein accordingly taken, and I know the proposition was above a month since sent to the King ; but what hath been done since, I have not heard ; I am sure nothing ought to be, until the Duke of *York* hear something from his Majesty about it. Indeed (as your Excellency says) the Duke of *Lorraine* is so great a master in all the mysteries of treaty, as he is not easy to be coped with by those that are not experienced in business of that nature.

As concerning myself, I assure your Excellency that no resentment of mine, though never so just, shall hinder me from complying in any honourable and probable way for his Majesty's service : but I would not willingly be made a property for compassing the private ends of such, as under pretence of the King's service care not to ruin the King and honest men. I have never hitherto declined to serve in any Councils for the King : but the *Louvre* holding and calling such as were not of their opinion (or rather faction) in all matters obstructers of the King's Councils, did advise, (as a rare expedient of singular advantage) to remove, or at least to lay them aside ; which is doubtless a sure way to carry all smoothly before them. The King's instructions to Mr. *Seymour* wished that all his Council should be near the Duke of *York* to advise him on all occasions, and desired that I should be particularly invited and encouraged by the Queen to be always about him. Now the Queen expressing upon all occasions herself to be much displeased with Sir *E. Nicholas*, he conceives he ought in duty to forbear to attend the Duke of *York* into *France*, if her Majesty do not particularly send for him ; for that he believes it to be the King's mind, that none but those who are very acceptable to the Queen should

be near his brother : and truly, if I am not enabled as well as invited, I cannot undergo the charge of so expensive a remove. This being the truth of the case, I hope my noble friends will not misinterpret my retiring to some private and cheaper place, where I may prolong my subsistence in attending God's merciful providence. A.D. 1651

I know not, whether upon the Clergy's offer to give the Queen a yearly pension conditionally, &c. but it is written to me for certain, that there is warning given at the *Louvre* to all the Queen's servants, that will not change their religion or serve for nothing, to be gone and provide for themselves: which methinks in this conjuncture is not so seasonably or prudently done, as were to be wished, considering in what company and condition the King is at present ; and I doubt ill use will be made of it by the fiery Presbyters in *Scotland*, as soon as they shall hear of it ; and such advertisements fly apace among the godly. I believe there are many at the *Louvre* (which profess to be Protestants) that will make no more scruple to comply for their advantage with Popery than Presbytery : and though I am confident Dr. *Cofins* will advise neither, yet (methinks) there might be some prudent Clergyman found to persuade the one as well as the other compliance. The wits can do any thing : but plain downright honesty would be troubled what to do in such a case to preserve itself from being a cast off.

I presume Lord *Inchiquin* hath acquainted your Excellency with his purpose to go this next week for *Scotland*, and upon what occasion. Methinks, the Queen's warning away all her servants that will not turn Papists, should render her Majesty's Court no convenient place at this time for the Duke of *York*'s residence ; but her Majesty's Councils are not to be contradicted. *Daniel O Neile* is

A.D. 1651 gone with Col. *Blague* to embark for *Scotland*.
 Your Excellency, I hope, will pardon this tediousness; since it proceeds from a true desire to serve you in what lieth in the knowledge of,

My Lord, &c.

*Hague, April $\frac{16}{26}$,
 1651.*

GIL. RALISONEY.

Titus is newly arrived here from *France*, being bound (as I hear) for *Scotland*. He speaks very much honour of the Marquess of *Argyle*. God grant his Lordship deserve it.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

My most honoured Lord,

WITH your Excellency's of *April 20*. I received one packet from your Lordship for the Lord *Inchiquin*, (which I sent to him to *Amsterdam*, where he is expecting a passage for *Scotland* in the same vessel with Col. *Blague*) and another for Mr. *Henry Seymour*, who is preparing within few days to go for *France*, intending to reside in some of the cheap places in *Languedoc*. I have herein sent your Excellency some extracts of letters, which will acquaint you with many strange particulars of no inconsiderable importance. That of the *Blancs* sent to Mr. *Hollis*, may prove (if true) as fatal to the Presbyterians, as *Coke's* and *Berkenhead's* to others: and to compleat these unhappy discoveries, Capt. *Titus* being come from *France* with a full dispatch, his servant, (recommended to him, he saith, by Lord *Wilmot*) did on Wednesday last at *Rotterdam*, whilst the Captain was here, cut open his Master's portmanteau, and took thence all his dispatches, letters and papers, and carried them to *St. John*
 and

and *Strickland*; who after perusal of them sent A.D. 1651 them the same night with their comment on them to their masters in *England*; whence perhaps in about a fortnight hence you may see some of them in print. By these letters it is believed there will be discovered how those of the *Louvre* carry themselves between *Argyle* and *Hamilton*. *Titus* saith, he hath still safe the instruction given him by the Queen; but that the rebels have four of the Queen's letters, and some of Lord *Fermyn's* and *Hollis's*; which may cause the latter to be sequestered. God doth every day shew manifest tokens, that he is not pleased with Presbyterian Counsels and Instruments: And truly I do not believe that those who have been the contrivers and actors in so horrid murders, cruelties, and injustice, as the Presbyterian faction have been, can be acceptable to God.

Since the warning given at the *Louvre* to the Queen's servants, that were not Papists, or not able to live of themselves, to provide to be gone, I am very credibly advertised, that the Queen is very active by *Winter Grant* in persuading many there to turn Papists; and that the main arguments are the King's forsaking the Church of *England* by taking the Covenant, and that he rather favours the Papists than us, by permitting his sister to be brought up in that Religion; and above all, the Queen's exorbitant and ruling power with the King, by which she intends to give the Law, and beyond all others to countenance her own converts. I should be glad to know what Lord *Digby* doth say to you at your meeting to palliate the imprudence, or rather madness of his friends at the *Louvre*.

By some Scots newly arrived at *Campvere* I hear, that *Middleton* was coming with the northern forces (being about 2000 horse and 8000 foot) that

A.D. 1651 *Huntley* is now admitted to command such as he can raise, which (it was believed) would be about 5000 more : but they say the divisions are so great in the army, as there are not two of the Commanders that will trust one another. The King very prudently seems to trust all men ; but hath his own thoughts, and wisely passes by many indignities. There arrived in *Zealand* lately a High German called *Staiger*, he brought letters for the Lady *Moreton*, and having delivered them to a very honest Gentleman to be sent to her, pretended he was to hasten back to *Scotland*, but privately went to *Calais* and thence for *England*. He was Major to the Lord *Machelin* the Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*'s son, and it is believed, he is gone to give intelligence, and to make further discoveries to the Rebels ; so as of all sides the King is betrayed. The Chancellor of *Scotland* is so much suspected, as your Lordship may observe he is left out of the Committee appointed by the Parliament there to manage all affairs.

I marvel extremely that in all this time we receive no letters from Mr. *Fanshawe*, it being now above two months since his letter to me : if he had been taken, or any Express intercepted, the London prints would have advertised it. Whilst I endeavour to express my desire to inform your Excellency with what I receive from several parts, I grow tedious in my letters, which I hope you will pardon, proceeding from a desire to serve you as,

My Lord, &c.

Hague, May 3,
1651.

WILL. BOWLES.

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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A.D. 1651

Extracts inclosed.

Paris, April 7. N. S. 1651.

I Am now of opinion if the *Louvre* did really affect the Duke of *York*'s coming into *France*, it were impossible for them to effect it as things now stand here: which I assure you are in a very ticklish condition.

I can assure you from an infallible hand, none of the Princes here have received any letter from the King or the Duke of *York*; which is the worse taken, because some such thing was hinted to them, but not yet acted. I much apprehend troubles here, and such a disposition likely to rule, as will not advantage the Duke of *York*'s voyage hither or reception here.

I perceive by a letter I newly received from Captain *Mead*, that he is extream sick in body, as well as in mind: he infinitely complains of his ill usage from the King's Court, and attributes the loss of the whole interest of the Crown of *Sweden* unto Sir *William Balladine*, Mr. *Long*, and the *Louvre*; he perceives not the least kindness now in the Queen of *Sweden* for our King.

Paris, April 12, 1651. N. S.

I can assure you the Prince of *Condé* is not at all in love with the *Louvre*, and find the King and Duke of *York* lose ground with him upon that score.

Lord *Fermyn* is so confident he shall be not only Secretary, but *Premier Ministre d'Etat*, that he hath already bespoke *Walsingham* to be one of three Secretaries, and fancies that number will be too small for him.

We hear that Mr. *Denzil Hollis* had lately sent to him forty or fifty of the King's blank Commis-

A.D. 1651 fions which he filled up with Parliamentary names, and sent them for *England*, with so much policy that they miscarried by the way : and so the parties are discovered ; which will make the second part of the Earl of *Darby's* plot discovered (as it is written out of *England*) by *Berkenhead*.

Paris, April 22, 1651. N. S.

It is impossible for any honest man about the King or Duke of *York* to escape misrepresentation and ruin, as far as the *Louvre* interest can any way procure it : and whosoever dissents in a tittle shall be equally persecuted with those that oppose in all ; it is not only practice there, but doctrine. But I think you will not be put to the trial, unless things should alter here beyond my apprehension ; for without doubt they are neither in condition nor disposition to invite, receive, or entertain the Duke of *York* in *France*.

At Perth the last day of March 1651.

The which day the King's Majesty present in Parliament being humbly supplicate by the Estates of Parliament, that he would be pleased for satisfaction of his subjects to accept the command of the army : his Majesty to testify his willingness to give them satisfaction, did give his Royal assent ; yea and declared, that he would take upon himself the command thereof.

Extract out of the Records of Parliament, by me

DAVID HAY.

A List

*A List of the Committee of Estates chosen this A.D. 1651
last Parliament at St. Johnston's, April 14.* ~~~~~
1651.

NOBILITY.

Duke Hamilton.
Marquess Dowglas.
Marquess Argyle.

E A R L S.

Crauford.
Marshall.
Errol.
Atholl.
Rothcs.
Dumfermlin.
Casellis.
Lauderdale.
Lothian.
Lithgow.

Glencarn.
Eglington.
Hume.
Galaway.
Kelly.
Dalhousie.
Roxburgh.
Balclough.

L O R D S.

Newburg.
Spince.
Belcaris.
Cockram.

Num. 25.

B A R O N S.

Wachob of Nidin.
Sir Alex. Hepburn of
Humby.
Rob. Hepburn of Roch.
Keinton of Lamerton.
Ker of Cavers.
Sir Alexander Bellatin of
Toff.
Walter Scot of Whithis.
Straghan of Thomson.
Beaton of Creich.
Sir Robert Lundie of
Lundie.
Lockhart of Leis.

Sir James Murray of
Sterling.
Sir Alexander Gibson of
Durie.
King of Darough.
Sir William Scot of Huf-
den.
Sir Pat. Hamilton of
Preston.
Sir William Scot of Ar-
dres.
Innis younger.
Sir James Arnol of Fair-
nie.

Sir

A.D. 1651 Elliot of Stobs.

Weaver of Bogie.

Sir James Fowler of Col-
lington.

Colram of Lieft.

Heyburn of Ormiston.

Dowglas of Colwood.

Numb. 25.

B U R R O W S.

Sir James Smith.

Hugh Kennedie.

Archeb. Sydsersff.

Sir Alex. Wederburn.

Pat. Tompson.

David Simpson.

David Wilkie.

Alex. Coningham.

John Mill.

James Lindsey.

John Scot.

Peter Walker.

John Roswell.

Antony Glen.

John Achterlony.

James Burnside.

John Covan.

Antony Cristair.

David Nairn.

Alex. Douax.

Robert Boll.

James Rutterford.

Collin Cambell.

Numb. 23.

*Letter of the M. of Ormonde to the M. of
Clanricarde, after the Battle of Worcester.*

IF I could have writ, and you received, daily
dispatches since my coming into this Kingdom,
they could not till this instant have given you
any advertisements so certain or of such impor-
tance, as I believe you did expect. Neither for
ought appears to me, could you have had ground
from any information to have varied from the
course you have held, to the approbation of all
those from whom you could wish or expect it.
Yet I have not failed on my part to give you
those uncertain notions that came to my hands;
however my endeavours have failed of success, as
well in that, as in the assistances I knew necessary
for you. And though the conveyance of what I
am

am now to say be almost as uncertain, as the sub-^{A.D. 1651}ject is certain and sad: yet I will do my part towards your information, that you may do yours for the safety of yourself and such as have adhered to you.

It would be too tedious an aggravation of our misfortune to tell you, with how admirable a wisdom, and with how constant and high a courage, the King overcame all the difficulties that were in his way to the trial, wherein it pleased God to give success to his enemies: and how proportionable to those beginnings he carried himself in his long march to *Worcester*, and in the conflict there, wherein the $\frac{3}{13}$ of this month his whole army was routed, but himself for that time escaped, and it is more our prayers and wishes, than hope grounded on any human likelihood that he may be reserved to be yet the restorer of the antient government and freedom of the English Empire and Nation, who are yet unworthy of so excellent a Prince.

Whilst others entertain you with more particulars of this great blow, I cannot forbear to acquaint you with those circumstances, that to me makes it appear more despairingly, and conclusive to all our hopes, than perhaps it is apprehended by some. Be pleased to consider, when it may again be reasonably hoped to have a King of *England* in the head of 20,000 of his own subjects in the heart of *England*, and to have the rebels at the same time employed with two other armies, the one in *Ireland*, the other in *Scotland*; whether ever such as have professed themselves ready to rise upon a much weaker countenance, and have failed upon this, will be relied on by any foreigner; or when it can hoped, that foreign Princes will be so much at one amongst themselves, and so generous as to assist our King with such an army: and if they were, will they not find the rebels much more strong by the conquest of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and much more experienced in the ways of rule and govern-

A.D. 1651 government? and will not the exceptions taken at the King's coming with a Scottish power be more obviously taken up against any foreigner, of what Nation or Religion soever, by those that are weary of hazards and indulgent to their ease, pleasure and profits? More of these questions might be asked than I take pleasure to find out: and that it may appear I seek not these to justify any slackening of my duty to my King, but to be clear in the discharge of my thoughts to you, to whom I have an inseparable friendship, I will give you my conceptions of the remaining way to be taken by the King. It is clear to me, that there is neither power nor affection strong enough in any of his own subjects (at least both cannot be found in any) excluding the rebels party, to raise his cause to a possibility of being disputed, it must follow that foreign assistance must be sought, or else the cause for the present deserted and the rebels left at rest; from which it may be expected emulations and ambitions will arise, from thence divisions, and out of them an occasion of setting the interest of the Crown on foot again. This I take to be a remote lazy speculation, and very near lying in the dirt and crying God help. God often blesses very improbable endeavours, but I find not where he promises, or when he hath given success to flat idleness, unless contempt or misery, which are the proper fruits of it, may be so called. I am therefore clear, that foreign help is immediately, and thus, to be sought.

All the Princes and States of *Christendom* are at this instant full of their own projects, either to enlarge or preserve their dominions; and I cannot think of any one that is in plenty. To make application to them by several ministers will be certainly tedious and fruitless: and if it were possible for the King to find means to send so many, (as I see not whence he will have it) they will be looked upon


as so many beggars sent for gatherings, and at the last A.D. 1651
as such, will be sent away with pitiful alms, which
will be consumed in the voyages. Therefore to
come shortly to what I would be at, wherein you
may be concerned, I conceive some one must be
found that hath power, if not with all, yet with
most Christian Princes and States. Among the
Protestants there is none such; and amongst Ro-
man Catholicks, it is visible the Pope has most of
authority and persuation: and it shall be without
scruple my advice, and that speedily, that fitting
Ministers may be sent, and apt inducements pro-
posed to him for his interposition, not only with all
Princes and States ———

The M. of Ormonde to Sir E. Nicholas.

S I R,

I HAVE been twice out of town since I writ last
to you; once to meet my Lord *Digby* at *Pont-*
l'Eveque, and another short journey I made to see
some places hereabouts and to take the air. By this
means you will miss the letters of one week from
me; which I did not intend you should as long as I
stay here. I am very little informed in any thing
of consequence by my meeting with Lord *Digby*;
only he confirmed to me your conjecture, that
Lord *Fermyn* would not this year go for *Scotland*:
but whether it be a real change of resolution in him,
or if it be, upon what ground, I can but guess, and
that you will more probably do than I, without any
hints from me.

By letters of the 29th of the last month from *Pa-*
ris, it is said that at a Council held the day before
(the first that was held in a month before) it was
concluded the Duke of *York* should have 4000 pi-
stoles

A.D. 1651  stoles a year; they excusing the smallness of the sum by their necessities, which made them allow the Queen his Mother but double that sum. With notice of this I presume an invitation is sent to his Highness and means of defraying his journey proposed. I apprehend there may appear some difficulty in the resolution fittest for his Highness to take hereupon; if the overture brought by my Lord *Taaffe* from the Duke of *Lorraine*, hath been found so advantageous to his Majesty and clear in the performance, that my Lord *Inchiquin* hath undertaken to be the messenger and proposer to the King from the Duke of *York*. For as on the one side all that is probably to be expected from this State, as it is and as it is like to be, is at the best but the dribbling uncertain payment of that little pension, without any reasonable hope of greater advantage, and with assurance (as I take it) that the Treaty with the D. of *Lorraine* cannot consist with it: so on the other side the conditions proposed by the D. of *Lorraine* had need be of evident present advantage, and such as will appear so to his Majesty; else it will be hard to justify any demur on his Highness's part, his Majesty's pleasure, his own often professed readiness (even to impatience at the delay) to conform himself thereunto, and the provision made for his reception all concurring. Whereunto may be added that the rejection of this offer importuned from the French will be taken for a projected irreparable affront, such as will exclude the possibility of making so much as any modest motion of this nature hereafter. My hope is, that this invitation will be with his Highness before my Lord *Inchiquin* can be dispatched, and that all these and many other incident considerations that I am not capable of will be weighed, and the safest appearing counsel fixed on; which because it is like to be taken upon grounds
more

from the Year 1641 to 1660. 463

more solid than can occur to me by a solitary debate with myself, and that before my letter can come to you, I forbear to touch on. I remain, &c. A.D. 1651

Cæen, May 4, 1651.

ORMONDE.

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

My most honoured Lord,

BY mine sent the last post, I advertised your Excellency that Lord *Inchiquin* was going for *Scotland* with Col. *Blague*; for which he was prepared and some of his goods aboard, and as he was the last week ready to embark, he received notice from *Breda* that Mr. *Fanshaw* was returned, and that the Duke of *York* desired thereupon to speak with his Lordship, who presently caused his goods to be taken ashore and hastened to *Breda*: and so Col. *Blague* and *Daniel O Neile* are gone. This proved (as many others in these parts frequently do) a false alarm; for Mr. *Fanshaw* is not arrived, nor any other Express as yet from *Scotland*, which we all wonder at, it being now near three months since any person came thence. But there are newly letters brought by a Dutch ship, which advertise that for certain, Sir *W. Throgmorton* and the English Officers who went with him, being about 40 or 50, and also all the King's horses and coach are safely landed in *Scotland*, whereof we had much doubt. By the same letters bearing date *Apr. 21*, it's advertised that the King's forces were come up, and that it was believed the King would within ten days engage against the English rebels: God of Heaven prosper his enterprizes with victory and honour! His Majesty is said to be certainly very active and intelligent in his business; and by the end of this month
(it's

A.D. 1651 (it's probable) we shall hear of the success of his arms. Those letters speak *Argyle* to be much suspected by the people, as well as by the honest persons of Quality; and that his power and reputation is there in the wane: but that may be report only fancied by him that wrote, he being an affectionate person to Duke *Hamilton's* party: and I observe that for the most part all that come from *Scotland* speak more out of affection than judgment of affairs and persons there.

The last week Mr. *St. John* and his Colleague made these States believe, they would be gone presently: but now they are persuaded to stay longer, and have (as I am told) written into *England* to their Masters for leave to remain here one fortnight more; by which time they hope to finish their Treaty, which these dull Dutch delay all they can, that before they conclude they may understand the success of his Majesty's arms and affairs in *Scotland*. The French Ambassador M. *de Bellievre* hath taken his leave of these States, and intends to return for *France* this week, not being able to prevail in any business here, until *France* shall have given satisfaction for the great damage done in the *Mediterranean* to the subjects of these States by the French men of war; for which this Ambassador hath given good words and very fair promises. Mr. *Henry Seymour* forbears his journey into *France*, in hopes to have the opportunity to go thither when the Duke of *York* returns.

I have herein sent your Excellency a list of some Lords and Gentlemen that are imprisoned or under restraint and trouble, upon Mr. *Coke's* treacherous discovery. I am now told, that he being a notorious Presbyterian, and by them entrusted and employed from *England* (whereof I remember intimation was sent thence by honest men when the King was at *Fersey*, but nothing would be then credited
against

against any prudent person of that faction) was by *A.D. 1651* his Majesty at *Breda*, by the counsel of Duke *Hamilton* and others of the *Louvre* creatures, made acquainted with the designs and persons of his Majesty's own party also; some of whom had him so suspected (as namely the Lord *Beauchamp*) as they forbore a long time to communicate any thing with him; insomuch as he wrote to Mr. *Long* a letter complaining that that Lord was very slow and backward in the King's business in *England*; which letter Mr. *Long* tells me he shewed in *Scotland* to the King. And yet afterwards by others importunity in *England*, who had received great commendations of him from some credulous people of the King's party there, it seems his Lordship acquainted him with so much as it is like to cost him his life: and if your Excellency observe the inclosed list, you will see there are therein very few Presbyterians among those that *Coke* hath discovered; for the Presbyterians in *Lancashire* were discovered by the papers that were intercepted with *Berkenhead*. That which to me looks most hideous in *Coke's* discovery is, that three days after his second apprehension he wrote a letter to a gallant Gentleman here, who (it seems) had communicated very freely with him, though he were nothing of his opinion or faction, to send him over a list of the names of the Nobility and Gentry in *Kent*; which at his being here this time twelve-month he had shewed him, assuring him, that all the Northern parts of *England* were in a glorious condition to serve the King by his industry, and he would not that that County should be backward in it; and therefore if he would hasten to him that model or list, which he had shewed him, he would likewise put that in order, or to that effect: and sent this letter over by an express (being written all with his own hand) that he might arrive (as he did) before the post that brought news of his second be-

A.D. 1651 ing taken. But the Gentleman being well assured of *Coke's* being then in prison, forbore to send him the list; whereby perhaps some of his Countrymen may escape from being peached; but some of the chief of them (whose names it seems he remembered) are in prison.

I fear I tire your Lordship whilst I please myself in thus freely communicating the small busineses that occur to me, who am entirely and sincerely,

My Lord, &c.

Hague, May 12, 1651, N. S.

JO. WILCOCKS.

P. S. Some Germans belonging to the D. of *Lorraine's* troops, who have formerly served the King in *England*, have lately about *Liege* met with six or eight persons, who coming over as part of the Rebels Ambassadors train, went towards *Germany* to travel; and having robbed them of 4 or 500 *l.* in gold and jewels, detain them still prisoners, until they shall send them 1200 *l.* more for their ransoms: for which purpose they have permitted two of their servants to come hither to sollicite for money; which doth not a little trouble Mr. *St. John* and his Colleague.

The M. of Ormonde to Lord Taaffe.

My LORD,

I Am no farther instructed by any letter I have received from *Ld. Inchiquin* in the business mentioned in yours of *April 29.* than I was formerly by you; more than that I collect by his undertaking the negotiating of it, he conceives it of advantage and hopeful. Mr. *O Neile* forespoke the business in a letter to me, but without assigning any reasons for it,

from the Year 1641 to 1660.

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it. If there be any, it must be those, or some of *A.D. 1651*
them conjectured by your Lordship. I confess I
should venture remote hazards for present advantage, believing no danger so great as the letting the Rebels nestle themselves quietly in the Throne they have usurped : but if instead of present help, and that uncertain, it were possible it might bring prejudice upon, or give interruption unto the going on of action where it is on foot, the matter in such case will be worth the weighing. I hope provision is made, that if we get no good, we shall take no hurt by the bare agitation of the matter.

I know not yet what to say to the getting leave for men to march thorough and be shipped in some port in *France*. The very making of the motion seems to me to be of a ticklish nature, the affairs of this Kingdom being yet hardly settled. But I expect Lord *Fermyn* will be here to morrow or the next day in his journey to *Fersey* : from him I shall know the fitness of the motion, and the probability of success, if it be made. This I doubt will be the best issue of it, that if the French consent to it, it will be in such a manner, as that it will cost as much time and money, as the doing it out of *Germany*. How the Spaniard that has no pretence of jealousy, and has convenient ports, can refuse it, and yet continue to deserve the title of the most Catholick King, I understand not. By that time you are resolved in this point by the Bishop of *Ferns*, a great Casuist now there, you shall hear again from

Caen, May 11,
1651.

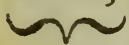
Your Lordship's

very affectionate Servant,

ORMONDE,

Sir E. Nicholas to the M. of Ormonde.

My most honoured Lord,

A.D. 1651  I Have had the honour of your Lordship's favour of the 4th of this month : and though I cannot doubt but you have very good notice from *Paris* of all French occurrences, yet I may not omit to advertise that I hear Lord *Fermyn* is gone towards *Jersey*, and hath carried thither with him Sir *John Berkeley* and other Commissioners to sell some of the King's lands there to raise money to pay some debt the King is said to owe Lord *Fermyn*, there being nothing but the rent of those lands to maintain the garrisons there : but I believe his Lordship will lose his labour. By this you may see that no necessity of the King's own condition or affairs doth render those who have been no losers by their services done to the Crown, to leave unattempted any way or means to supply themselves in their greatness. The Duke of *York* came hither Friday last on the sudden from *Breda* before his sister knew of it, intending only to visit her and be gone the next day : but she hath now prevailed with him to stay here longer ; some here pressed his Highness's present going for *France*, without longer expecting the Queen's orders for it : which purpose was upon long debate altered. For indeed that had been as great an error, as the first in leaving *France* against her Majesty's advice ; especially since it was manifest that his Majesty's intentions are that the Duke shall remain here, till the Queen had prepared things in *France* fit for his Highness's coming, and her Majesty in her last letter to him wrote, that he should make himself ready to come as soon as she should send to him.

By a letter from Lord *Inchiquin* I perceive that
 2 he

he intends about the beginning of the next month ^{A.D. 1651} to go for *Scotland*. He writes to me, that he hath written to the King, desiring a commission may be sent to you to treat with the Duke of *Lorrain*, with instructions to be first well assured, that probably advantage may be made by the treaty for his Majesty's service; as I presume Lord *Inchiquin* hath more fully advertised your Excellency, than me. But if I had been worthy to have been first advised withal in that affair, (the Duke of *York* having formerly acquainted the King with that proposition made by the Duke of *Lorrain*, and written that he would do nothing in it, till he heard from his Majesty) I should have counselled the Duke of *York* to have expected what his Majesty would have directed therein, before he should have done any more in that business, which is certainly of greatest concernment to the King. And I hear by all men, that the Duke of *Lorrain* is very subtle in Treaties, and not to be confided in farther than he appears to be really obliged under his hand. Besides as your Lordship very well observes, a treaty with him in this conjuncture may injealous and displease *France*, if not very cautiously proceeded in. I assure you, it seems to me that the Duke of *York* is very impatient in his desires to hasten into *France*; insomuch as he cannot be easily persuaded to stay for the Queen's orders for it.

The things called Ambassadors from *England* here, have deferred their return for a fortnight. We hear that they have received news from *Ireland*, their fellow-rebels have lately received a great loss; but that they keep it very secret: I wish it be true. Sir *Alexander Hope* came hither from *Scotland* two days since; he saith he left that kingdom about ten days since, and that the King had then 24000 men, and expected more; that he was very active and resolute to fight *Cromwell*, who had 18000 effective; that his

A.D. 1651 his Majesty will not be able to keep his men above eight days together in a body; which is the cause that they come not faster together. He told a private friend here, that he was confident his countrymen would only make a shew, but not fight when they came to it; and that the King would be forced to embrace the proposition he long since made to him; which was to relinquish all his interest in *England* and *Ireland*. He speaks of a party that would rise in the West of *Scotland* to that purpose; and that they would be commanded by a great person now about the King. He says, Mr. *Pocley* was by the King appointed to come for these parts, and would be here with the first opportunity.

We hear that *Van Trump* and the English have landed some men in one of the unfortified isles of *Sorlings*: but we hope they will not be able to prevail against any part of them which are of importance. When the Duke of *York* shall be returned into *France*, I intend to remove to some cheaper place, whereof I shall give your Excellency timely notice, that you may send me such commands wherewith you shall be pleased to honour, &c.

Hague, May 17, 1651.

CH. LETHERAGE.

The M. of Ormonde to Sir E. Nicholas.

S I R,

YOUR letter of the 10th of this month made more haste hither than any I had formerly received from you; whether by the season of the year, or by what other accident, I know not: but I tell it you, that if it be by any means that may be constantly lighted on, you may please to lay hold of it hereafter. More than what Mr. *Maxwell* writes to
my

my wife, or that I find in the Gazette, there comes ^{A.D. 1651} little to me from *Paris*: from thence no body writes to me, nor I to no body there, unless upon some occasion of private importance, which happens but seldom. What we have out of *England*, you have at least as soon and certainly as we get it here: and from *Scotland* to us you are in the highway; so that as I have always been in all offices of friendship, I must be on the taking and begging hand, that you would continue to impart without hope of retribution. But to let you see I am willing to recompence, I send you a relation of the attempt made by the Rebels upon *Sorlings*, sent from *Samborne* of *Morlaix*, who had it from one that came from those islands since the attempt. Another much more uncomfortable relation is come from *Paris*, which I presume will be sent you: but I hope it will be found that this is the worst of that business, and that the Rebels are not much advantaged by what they have gained, nor in any likelihood of gaining more. I know not whether I should be sorry for Lord *Inchiquin*'s being stayed or no, since the King's condition in *Scotland* is so near an alteration, as those come thence report. I am little knowing in Scotch intrigues: but by what hath been publickly acted there, I should judge that the declining of my Lord *Argyle*'s greatness, but more especially of his reputation with the people, is the thing of that nature most to be wished; though I guess it may be otherwise thought at the *Louvre*. And seeing there is no present possibility that the principal power in that kingdom can fall into the hands of any that are absolutely unblemished, I know not where it is more to be wished than in Duke *Hamilton*. We have these ten days expected Lord *Fermyn* here in his way to *Jersey*: and by the letters of the 16th of this month it is said, that he will be here on Saturday next. I know not what
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A.D. 1651 the occasion of his stay may be, unless to see the D. of York's pension placed upon some certain fund. By the last letters out of *England* hither (which may be since those that brought the list of the imprisoned persons into *Holland*) there are many more Lords said to be under examination or restraint, than those you sent me. They name the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Warwick* and *Leicester*; and the Earl of *Salisbury* under examination, with some others whose names I remember not: but I remember that soon after *Coke's* last taking, it was said that the Rebels applied the rack to him, or at least threatned him with it; to which till there be proof against him I could willingly impute his discovery: for though I know him not, yet being in those merciless hands, I have so much compassion for him as leads me to charitable constructions of what may have been frightened out of him. I renew my desire of hearing constantly from you: and remain, &c.

Caen, May 18, 1651.

ORMONDE.

The END of the First VOLUME.





